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ABSTRACT

Examining the changing patterns in adult growth which alter family, learning, and work behaviors, the presentations collected here were given at a conference in which scholars, teachers, counselors, industrialists, and therapists met to explore the linkages between education and work throughout the life span. The edited transcripts are organized around four topics: individual's psychological makeup, the adult's development as learner, the adult's development as worker, and adjustments to changing roles. The three papers on psychological growth focus on gender and mid-life development, the latter half of life, and intergenerational communication. One paper on the adult as learner focuses on broad conceptual framework, the other on the particulars of current theories. Seven papers focus on the adult worker: labor market and life cycle needs, middle-aged worker and career change, role of the intermediary, labor market linkages (federal manpower programs), government intervention, a consumer's guide to labor market information, and managing your career. The final two papers examine the changing roles of women, one describing the "new" woman, the other examining some myths about working women. (JT)

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MANAGING THE LIFE CYCLE

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS AND COMMISSIONED PAPERS

Edited by:
Dorothy H. Salene
Marilyn D. Jacobson

Sponsored by the Adult Career Advocates Project with a grant from the U.S.Office of Education under the Community Service and Continuing Education Act of 1965, and Northwestern University.

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INTRODUCTION

Under the auspices of the Adult Career Advocates Project, a conference entitled "Managing the Life Cycle" was held at Northwestern University on March 4th, 5th, and 18th, 1978. Distinguished scholars met with a group of teachers, counselors, industrialists, and therapists for the purpose of examining the linkages between education and work throughout the life span. The presentations and discussions sought to pinpoint the changing patterns in adult growth altering family, learning, and work behaviors, and to develop appropriate responses for educational institutions, employers, and government planners. Each speaker approached the subject from a unique perspective; each attempted to shed light on a topic of mutual concern to a wide variety of professionals who teach, train or counsel adults.

While it has become commonplace to talk about life stages and midlife crises, few attempts have been made to consolidate information and share knowledge of strategies which might assist individuals during transitional periods. Represented in the attached papers is the research of scholars in psychology, anthropology, economics, education, management and sociology. Currently, there is an overlap of functions between sectors; schools and colleges are concerned with training for work, work environments and organizational structures; corporations are concerned with basic skills in grammar and mathematics and present an array of education and training courses to employees; many communities are now providing crisis intervention services as well as recreation and leisure activities. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act has involved the Department of Labor in a massive effort to train and educate the disadvantaged. Community leaders, teachers, counselors, industrialists, therapists, clergymen, and school administrators require knowledge of the characteristics of adults at various states of development in order to improve programming, teaching and counseling, now integral ingredients in all these spheres.

The premise expressed in the title's key word "managing" is that the individual, buttressed by knowledgeable, supportive professionals, is capable of shaping and directing the course of his or her life. It is assumed that individuals can be initiators of change - proactive in their own behalf - rather than passive reactors to forces over which they believe themselves to be powerless. In order to achieve mastery, the individual must be more aware of his or her own potentials and those opportunities available. Choosing wisely among options consequently becomes a new skill which the adult must acquire.

The need for people capable of assisting adults to manage transitional periods and to acquire decision making skills has given rise to a category of service professionals which we will call intermediaries. Those who function in a facilitating or matching capacity in education have recently been labeled educational brokers.* Those who help workers to enter, reenter or advance in the work force have been designated as labor market intermediaries.** For our purposes in this book we will use the term "intermediary" comprehensively to include all those who smooth the passage of individuals between home and school, school and work, career and career. At the opportune moment, teachers, trainers or counselors of adults might be called upon to act as educational brokers or labor market intermediaries - the interlocking nature of these functions must be acknowledged.

The role of the intermediary includes the presentation of options and assistance in decision making. The intermediary is likely to serve as an advocate guiding the individual to mobilize his or her resources and to find optimal fits between his or her goals, aspirations and abilities and those opportunities available.

The purpose of this collection of papers is an attempt to consolidate research in order to develop an understanding of the complex educational and work needs of adults <u>over the life span</u>. Professionals who invest their energies, expertise and egos in teaching and counseling require more than techniques derived from trial and error. They need a framework for understanding their constituents' capabilities, behaviors and motivations.

The four part division utilized in organizing this collection parallels the foci of the "Managing the Life Cycle" conference. These four areas were also designated as central to the concerns of teachers, counselors and managers in a needs assessment conducted at the end of the second day of the conference. The participants selected the following topics they wished to study further: The individual's psychological makeup, the adult's development as learner, the adult's development as worker and adjustments to changing roles. Consequently, we address these central issues in this collection.

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* Heffernan, James H., Macy, Francis U., Vickers, Donn F. <u>Educational Brokering A New Service for Adult Learners</u>, 1976

** Cassell, Frank H., Rodgers, Ronald C. <u>The Public Employment Service as a Labor Market Intermediary</u>, National Commission on Manpower Policy, 1978

Part I explores the individual's psychological growth and sets the stage for the study of learning and work behaviors. The papers included discuss the increasing attention being paid to the process of adult maturation and collectively present a rationale for the study of adult life stages and the applicability of the research to a broad spectrum of professionals in the private and public sectors.

Professor Cytrynbaum looks at the phenomenon of mid-life from the perspective of transitions and concomitant tensions. Professor Gutmann focuses on the potentials for growth during the later half of life. Professor Berland examines the dynamics between generations in a population increasingly skewed toward middle and old age.

Part II examines current theories concerning adult development which form the basis of effective teaching techniques and strategies. Professor Havighurst presents the conceptual framework; Professor Knox hones in on the particulars.

Part III analyzes current trends in the labor market in relation to their likely impact on people and organizations. Professor Cassell lays the groundwork in the field of labor market theory and introduces the concept of "net advantage."

Dr. Harold Sheppard focuses on selected aspects of mid-career and middle-age changes. Dr. Ronald Rodgers describes the activities of the intermediary in respect to the process of decision making. Presentations given by Dr. Angela D'Aversa, Dean Herbert Striner and Dr. Ronald Rodgers for a course "Transitions in Education, Work and Leisure" offered at Northwestern University are included to augment the section on Work. Dr. D'Aversa discusses the development of manpower legislation, analyzes the new CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) and examines the mandates for coordination among social service, employment and training related programs. Dean Striner reflects on the relationship between continuing education and economic activities. Dr. Rodgers provides a guide for mobilizing resources in order to make informed occupational choices. Professor Claude Mathis concentrates his remarks on the problems of managing a career, particularly as one confronts the "maintenance" stage.

Part IV focuses on the changing roles of women, to illustrate the reassessment that takes place on personal, educational and vocational levels. Professor June Sochen describes the emerging woman and Ms. Lois Orr explodes some of the myths that exist concerning the working woman, and promotes the development of a "new girls' network."

In total the collection provides a framework that allows professionals, researchers and planners to acquire a better understanding of how and why services should be developed for adult learners which relate to their life cycle needs.

Dorothy H. Salene
Marilyn D. Jacobson, Project Director

October, 1979

Note: For the most part the inclusions in this collection are edited transcripts not papers submitted for publication. Occasionally there are questions from the audience and the smooth flow of ideas is interrupted. Our intention in assembling these transcribed pieces was to capture the personality of the speaker and to convey the sense of interaction and dialogue with participants which was characteristic of the conference.

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Alan B. Knox	"Adult Development and Learning: Implications for Helping Adults Learn"

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June Sochen	"The New 'New' Woman"
Lois Orr	"Women in the Labor Market"

CONFERENCE AGENDA

MANAGING THE LIFE CYCLE

Saturday, March 4, 1978

9:00 - 9:30 Registration - Coffee Owen L. Coon Forum

9:30 - 9:45 Welcome: William R. Hazard, Associate Dean, School of Education, Northwestern University

9:45 - 10:00 Introduction to Workshop: Marilyn D. Jacobson, Assistant Professor of Education, School of Education, Northwestern University

10:00 - 11:30 Speaker: Robert J. Havighurst, Professor of Education and Human Development, University of Chicago

Topic: Education Through the Life Span

11:45 - 1:00 Buffet in Coon Forum Lobby - Lunch in Coon Forum

Program: Thomas Willis, Concert Manager, Associate Professor Music History, Northwestern University

1:15 - 2:45 Choice of Seminar:

Mid-Life Transitions and Crises, Professor Solomon Cytrynbaum, Northwestern University Room: Leverone G-093

Teaching, Learning Strategies for Adults, Professor Robert J.Menges, Northwestern University Room: Leverone G-208

3:00 - 3:30 Choice of Seminar:

Mid-Life Transitions and Crises, Professor Solomon Cytrynbaum, Room: Leverone G-903

Teaching, Learning Strategies for Adults, Professor Robert J. Menges, Room: Leverone G-208

Developmental Potentials of the Later Half of Life, Professor David Gutmann, Northwestern University Room: Leverone G-214

5:00 Cocktails - Orrington Hotel, 1710 Orrington Ave. 2nd Floor

5:45 - 7:00 Dinner - Orrington Hotel, Heritage Room

7:15 Program - Orrington Hotel, Heritage Room

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MANAGING THE LIFE CYCLE

Sunday, March 5, 1978

8:45 - 9:15 Coffee — Owen L. Coon Forum

9:15 - 10:20 Speaker: Frank H. Cassell, Professor of Industrial Relations, Northwestern University

Topic: The Labor Market and Life Cycle Needs

10:30 - 12:00 Speaker: Harold L. Sheppard, American Institutes for Research

Topic: The Middle-Aged Worker

12:00 - 1:30 Lunch
Discussion: The Role of the Intermediary

Leader: Ronald C. Rodgers, Research Associate Midwest Regional Office, Educational Testing Service

1:45 - 3:15 Choice of Seminar:

From a Woman's Perspective, Professor June Sochen, Northeastern Illinois University, Room: Leverone G-208

Culture, Curriculum and Intergenerational Communication, Professor Joseph C. Berland, Northwestern University, Room: Leverone G-093

3:30 - 5:00 Needs Assessment: Planning for March 18th

(Please attend session checked below)

Facilitators

Sybil Francis	Leverone G-093
Angela D'Aversa	Leverone G-208
Gale Grossman	Leverone G-214
Robert Patrick	Leverone G-210
Dr.Carol Pierskalla	Education 1-151
Emily Epton	Education 2-140

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MANAGING THE LIFE CYCLE

Saturday, March 18,1978

9:00 - 9:15 Opening remarks - Coffee
School of Education Learning Resource Center

9:30 - 10:45 Choice of one workshop

Teaching-Learning Strategies for Adults
Professor Robert J. Menges - Room 1-151

The Relationship of the Intermediary to the Organization and the Individual
Robert Patrick
Dr. Carol Pierskalla Room 5-118

11:00 - 12:15 Choice of one workshop

Managing Multi-generational Classes
Emily Epton
Professor Marilyn D.Jacobson Room 1-151

Planning, Implementing, Marketing Career Development Programs for Adults
Sybil E. Francis
Gale Grossman Room 5-118

12:30 - 1:30 Buffet in Learning Resource Center

Speaker: Alan B. Knox, Professor of Continuing Education University of Illinois,Champaign-Urbana

Topic: Adult Development and Learning: Implications for Helping Adults Learn

1:45 - 3:15 Choice of one workshop

Discussion and Sharing of Teaching,Learning Techniques for Adult Classes:
Emily Epton, assisted by
Robert Patrick and Gale Grossman Room 5-118

Labor Market Linkages: The Federal Response
Angela D'Aversa Room 1-151

3:15 - 5:00 Wine and Wrap-Up

Discussion: Managing Your Career
Dean Claude B. Mathis

ADULT DEVELOPMENT OVER THE LIFE CYCLE

Professor Solomon Cytrynbaum, Education and Clinical Psychology, Northwestern University, Coordinator of Adult Development and Intervention Program, Director of Graduate Training Program in Counseling Psychology.

This paper, written after the conference, expands on ideas presented at the March,1978,workshops. Submitted with the co-authors listed on the next page, the paper was presented at the American Psychological Association meeting in September, 1978.

A book entitled Midlife Development: Gender, Personality and Social Systems Influences, co-authored by S.Cytrynbaum, L. Blum, R. Patrick, J. Stein, D.Wadner and C.Wilk is in progress.

GENDER AND ADULT MID-LIFE DEVELOPMENT: CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Excerpted from materials prepared by
Solomon Cytrynbaum, Ph.D.
Robert Patrick, M.A.
Jan Stein, M.A.
Carole Wilk

It is apparent that interest in adult development and life cycle research and theory has increased dramatically. For a variety of theoretical, cultural, demographic and perhaps "cult" reasons, mid-life adult development, particularly the "mid-life crisis" has recently become popularized. Our primary concerns are with the questions of how solid the theoretical and information base underlying current views of male and female mid-life development is and what implications can be drawn from the current state of knowledge. Specifically, we will address the following interrelated questions:

1. How complete are published reports, and what evidence exists for the validity of current theory and research findings on adult mid-life development?
2. What consistent developmental tasks, themes, and issues can be identified generally and by gender?
3. What are the limitations of this current knowledge?
4. What are the most pressing and interesting research and theoretical questions?

Analysis of Published Literature on Gender and Mid-Life

Our review of the literature bearing on gender and mid-life encompassed more than 50 primary and secondary sources. Although some of the major researchers and theorists in the field have employed systematic data collection procedures and fairly large samples, with few exceptions (e.g., Neugarten et al, 1964, 1968; Vaillant, 1977b) the major and influential work in the area has been of a more clinical and/or descriptive nature.

Chart I summarizes data collection procedures and samples identified in a subset of selected primary sources. As can be seen from this chart (on the following pages) only eight authors (Gould, 1972; Gutmann, 1976; Levinson et

Chart 1

SELECTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Quantitative/Descriptive Studies			Theoretical/Clinical Studies		
Author	Data Collection Procedures	Sample	Author	Data Collection Procedures	Sample
Gould 1972	Part I: Group sessions observed by psychiatrists, psychologists and an anthropologist	1968 UCLA Outpatient Clinic patients 7 age groups	Brim, 1977	Theoretical review	
			Erikson, 1959, 1963	Clinical observation and theoretical speculation	Unspecified
	Part II: Questionnaire surveying: sense of time; relations to parents, friends, children and spouses; feelings re: own personality, job, sex, career; ranking of major life concerns and people in relation to companionship, decision-making and incluence	524 men and women, middle class, white, educated non-patients	Horney, 1967	Clinical observation and theoretical speculation	Unspecified
			Jaques, 1965	Clinical observation and study of creative genius	Unspecified
Gutmann 1976	Open-ended, semi-structured interviews and projectives (TAT)	Adult males and females in Kansas City (distributed by age, class) plus Arizona Navajo, Maja of Mexico, Druze of Middle East	Jung, Carl 1969	Clinical observation and theoretical speculation	Unspecified
			Jung, Emma 1969	Clinical observation and theoretical speculation	Unspecified
			Neumann, E. 1959	Clinical observations and theoretical speculation	Unspecified
			Wolff, T. 1956	Clinical observation and theoretical speculation	Unspecified

Chart I, cont'd.

Levinson et al 1976, 1978b	Biographies, in-depth interviews: 10-20 hours over 2-3 months plus 2-year follow-up	40 men, aged 35-45 in 4 occupational groups; blue and white collar workers in industry, business executives, academic biologists and novelists
Lowenthal et al 1976	In-depth interviews, self-reports, WAIS, TAT, adjective ratings and self-assessment	216 men and women mostly white, representing 4 age groups; 25 males, 27 females, aged 16-18; 25 males, 25 females, newlyweds, aged 20-38; 27 males, 27 females, average age of 50; 30 males, 30 females, pre-retirees

Chart I, cont'd.

Sheehy, G. 1974	Biographies, interviews, self-assessments	115 men and women, 18-55, mostly white middle class
Neugarten et al 1964, 1968	Interviews, projectives	Over 2000 normal adults, ages 40-90
Vaillant, 1977a, 1977b	Physical exams, psychiatric interviews, psychological tests, (including TAT), measuring adult adjustment scale, marital happiness scale, childhood environment scale, maturity of defense	268 Harvard 1942, 1943 1944 graduates reduced to 94; all white; 80% Protestant 10% Catholic, 10% Jewish
Stein, et al 1978	Questionnaire covering sense of self, relationships to parents, friends and children; feelings about passage of time, marriage, sex, career and leisure time	193 outpatient and 136 non-patients divided by age: 18-21 yr; 22-28; 29-36; 37-43; 44-50; 51-60

al, 1976, 1978b; Lowenthal et al, 1976; Sheehy, 1974; Neugarten et al, 1964, 1968; Vaillant, 1977a, 1977b; and Stein et al, 1978) describe their data collection procedures and identify their samples. The remaining studies (Brim, 1977; Erikson, 1959, 1963; Horney, 1967; Jacques, 1965; Jung, C., 1969; Jung, E., 1969; Neumann, 1959; and Wolff, 1956), though rich in insights which can be tested in a more systematic manner, are based largely on clinical observation and/or theoretical speculation, with unspecified samples suggesting limitations to their generalizability.

In terms of data collection procedures, observational, interview, self-assessment, questionnaire, and projective test techniques are the most common research methods employed in the area. Although researchers such as Gould (1972), Gutmann (1976), Levinson et al (1978b), Lowenthal et al (1976), Neugarten et al (1964, 1968), and Vaillant (1977a, 1977b) used systematic interview procedures, questionnaires, biographies and the like, as Brim (1977) and others have pointed out, more systematic empirical methods and designs have not been successfully adapted to the study of the complexity of mid-life adult development. This remains a persistent dilemma for mid-life studies as well as for adult development research in general.

Finally, we should note that studies employing more systematic data collection procedures (e.g., interviews, questionnaires, or projective tests) generally either have failed to report or test the measurement characteristics (e.g., reliability, validity, and the like) of their data-gathering procedures, or their sampling procedures reflect systematic biases (e.g., Gould, 1972; Levinson et al, 1978b; Vaillant, 1977a, 1977b).

These and related methodological limitations raise serious questions about the generalizability of these studies and their findings. However, it is important to emphasize that the systematic study of adult development, and in particular mid-life, is in its infancy, and that certain consistent and useful themes, issues, and conclusions can still be identified with varying degrees of certainty.

Theoretical and Empirical Considerations

Our review has suggested a number of interesting theoretical and empirical considerations and consistencies, discussed below in the form of a series of interrelated questions.

A. Can an age-specific, time-limited, inevitable mid-life transition/crisis be reliably identified?

There is some evidence, largely clinical or low-level descriptive but not necessarily empirical, to document the existence of a mid-life transition period. The period is often of particular difficulty or stress in predominantly middle-class white men (Levinson, 1978b; Gould, 1972; Sheehy, 1974). Some cross-cultural validation for this notion is available (Gutmann, 1976). A less well-demarcated transition phase can be identified for women in several of the studies reviewed (Neugarten et al, 1964, 1968; Neumann, 1959). Systematic studies of mid-life minority men and women and of variations by socialclass remain to be carried out. Therefore, the question of generalizability is premature.

The question of age-specific generalizable time boundaries demarcating the mid-life transition and for adult development in general remains more problematic. Several theorists and researchers reflecting different orientations have identified inevitable and specific ages for various sequential developmental periods (e.g., Gould, 1972; Levinson et al, 1978b; Neumann, 1959; Vaillant, 1977a, 1977b). Chart II briefly summarizes the stages, age boundaries, themes, and developmental tasks identified by each of the above authors. (See following pages.)

The timing, internal and external determinants, and sequence of phases in adult development, especially of the mid-life period, remain open questions. For example, with respect to the issue of determinants, Erikson (1959, 1963) states that the principle of epigenesis accounts for the prescribed sequential unfolding of inner laws of locomotor, sensory, and social capacities of the human organism. Each stage of development (over time) creates a succession of potentialities in the organism until all have arisen to form a functioning whole.

Neumann (1969) suggests that the changes in adult development come about through a progressive unfolding of archetypal constellations.

Neugarten's (1964, 1968) concept of the "social time clock" emphasizes the importance given to the timing of the social event, rather than its occurrence; i.e., the social time clock is superimposed on the biological and historical time frame. This produces an internalized expectation of the consensually validated sequence of major life events, including the "correct" time for such events to take place, such as marriage, birth of the first child, last child leaving home, and retirement. Gutmann's (1976) notion of a shift in the parental imperative particularly at mid-life can be added to this list.

CHART II
STAGES/TRANSITIONS BY SELECTED AUTHORS

Stage Titles	Ages	Themes for Each Stage			Developmental Tasks for Each Stage		
		Biological	Psychosocial	Systems	Biological	Psychosocial	Systems
GOULD, R. (1972)							
	16-18		Getting away from parents. Peer group key influence.				
	18-21		Strong pull between individual and family/ peer systems			Need to keep "lid" on emotional tone	Must establish self as own person
	22-28		Autonomous Confident Unquestioning re feelings about self which are well-defined	Established in own social system Separate from family and early peer groups		Emphasis on modulating the emotional tone	Must make the efforts to "learn" proper adult tone Must establish marriage and career pattern
	29-34	Beginning deterioration of some general physical abilities	Begin to have existential questions about meaning of life Some inner aspect striving to be accounted for	Marriage and career established No longer feel need to separate from parents May see temporary identification with children		Wish to be accepted "for what I am"	Wish to accept children for what they are becoming

Chart II (Cont'd.)

GOULD, R.	35-43		Intensified inward direction Questioning of self, values Awareness of time squeeze	"muffled" renewal of old parent/child conflict lines Blurring of self-definition with family; focus on family rather than on other social contacts	see time as finite; emphasis on past, present, future	Work is important. Last chance to "make it big" Difficulty in communicating with spouse must be overcome Need to work to help marriage grow
	43-50		Pervasive negative attitude toward self and others; Realization that dream won't happen Look for someone to blame	Seek support, affection from spouse More interest in outside (though superficial) social contacts Somewhat negative and competitive Increased dependency on spouse	Develop sense of reality re time	Critical of children's adult development
	50 +	Concentration on health topics	Mellowing, negative stage over; self-accepting Inner directed	Children seen as potential sources of satisfaction Spouse valued as companion Narrow time frame Little concern with past or future		Personal relationships sought

7c

CHART II (Cont'd.)

STAGES/TRANSITIONS

Stage Titles	Ages	Themes for Each Stage			Developmental Tasks for Each Stage		
		Biological	Psychosocial	Systems	Biological	Psychosocial	Systems
LEVINSON ET AL (1978b)							
Leaving the Family (LF)	16-18 20-24		Separation gain autonomy	Transition from family system to broader social system		Separate from family - Financially less dependent Increase in self-parent differentiation (Identity vs. role diffusion) Family vs. Adult	Assume new roles in broader system Explore new living arrangements- Become part of the world - Broaden social skills Beginning of exploration and forming of tentative work and pairing choices. World ...

CHART II (Cont'd.)

LEVINSON ET AL (1978b)					
Getting into the adult world. (G I A W)	early 20's to 27-29	Exploration and commitment	Sense of broader membership and responsibility in personal and work relationships	Establish occupational trends- adult friendships Involvement in sexual relationships, persistence in following the Dream (Intimacy vs. aloneness)	Integrate self and society- Transition to period of settling down- Make and firmup initial choices-
Settling Down (SD)	early 30's to mid 30's	Commitment Investment in career and family or other relationships	Integrate family, work membership and relationships	Fashion an initial life structure including Deepen commitments - Pursue longer range goals - Establish order, stability, security and control in one's life - Planning, striving, move on and upward.	Invest more of self in work, family, and valued interests. Develop niche in society.
				Cope with antithesis - to be free, unfettered, not tied to any structure no matter how great its rewards, how great its current satisfactions, nor how alluring its future promise, ready to soar, wander, quest in all directions as the spirit moves one.	

CHART II (cont'd.)

LEVINSON ET AL (1978b)				
Becoming One's Own Man. (B O O M)	35-39 40-42	Dissatisfaction search for true autonomy Sense of constraint and depression	Stress in family, work, friends. Control of self control of enterprise Decision making Delegation	Seek independence and recognition particularly in the work world. Mentor/mentee relationship Become generative in relation to adults. Taking responsibility in the adult world. (Generativity vs. stagnation)
Mid-Life Transition (M L T)	early 40's to mid to late 40's	Boundary period between two periods of greater stability. Reassess goodness of fit between the current life structure and the self and the hope for the future.		Question life structure and modify or drastically change the structure - Sense of bodily decline - Recognition of one's mortality - Confront and deal with the illusions of omnipotence - Encounter the sense of aging and time running out - (The Jungian concepts of puer and senex as archtypes) - The Polarity of Masculine/ Feminine components of personality begins to press -
Restabilization the beginning of middle adulthood		RESTABILIZATION		

Chart II (Cont'd.)

NEUMANN, E. (1959)							
Psychic Unity	Birth-6-9 mo.		Primary identification with maternal uroboros and the "Great Mother".	Personal: mother/child Archetypal: "Great Mother"/child			
Self-Conserving (or Self-Establishing)	1-5 yr.		matriarchal consciousness	Personal: mother and/or female group archetypal: "Great Mother"/daughter			
Invasion of the Paternal Uroboros	5-13 yr.		Paternal Uroboros and the "Great Father"	Personal: father/daughter archetypal: "Great Father"/daughter			
Patriarchate	15-30 yr.		Masculine appear in individual and personal form, as man and animus	Personal: man/woman Archetypal: animus/woman			
Confrontation	35-40 yr.		Quaternio phase: fourfold relationship emerges with the integration of the contrasexual opposite.	Personal: man and woman relate as integrated wholes Archetypal: Quaternio (differentiated self)			marriage
Individuation	35-40 yr.						marriage

Chart II (cont'd.)

VAILLANT (1977a, 1977b)						
Adolescence	to age 20		Quest for identity		To internalize those we love	To achieve identity distinct from parents
Intimacy	20–30		conflicts re success	Careers started; wives; friendships	To win autonomy from parents, and to once more trust self to others	To acquire, assimilate and finally cast out the mentor
Career Consolidation	25–35		self deception about adequacy of marriage, and career choice	hard work on career consolidation		To make the grade (eg. tenure, partnership, V.P.)
Generativity (A second adolescence)	40–50		Middle years progress in maturation of adaptive modes Confrontation with one's instinctual reawakening A "ripening" period Mature acknowledgement of real life pains		Take others inside self Review of life style, career, marriage Struggle with feelings	Concern with next generation Interaction between middle-aged adolescent and teen-aged adolescent.

Sheehy (1974) suggests that transitional stages, a reflection of adult developmental changes, receive their impetus from "inner crisis points" even though external marker events such as graduation, marriage, childbirth, and geographic moves are also times of change. If both the "inner crisis point" and the external event occur together, there may be an even greater feeling of disorientation and disruption resulting in greater struggle toward a new stage of stabilization.

The issue of the inevitability of phase-like sequencing is even more complicated. Clinically oriented theorists such as Erikson, Neumann, and Jung anchor on one end of the pole. For example, Erikson (1959, 1963) postulates that the inevitability of the human organism progressively to traverse all stages is due to the principle of epigenesis.

Neumann (1969) suggests the term "centroversion" to account for the sequential unfolding of the stages. Centroversion is the tendency, though unconscious, to work toward the formation of personality through progressively traversing each of the developmental stages.

Jung (1969) states that while there is a sequential unfolding of the stages of consciousness, there is not an inevitability associated with the completion of every stage (or state).

In agreement with Brim (1977), we question the accuracy and generalizability of such specific inevitable age boundaries on theoretical as well as methodological grounds. We believe that it is more appropriate to view a constellation of basic and fundamental biological, psycho-social and social themes, and developmental tasks merging at some point during mid-life. This process may cover a time span of anywhere from 5 to 20 years, beginning for some men and women in the early 30s and perhaps lasting for some into the late 50s.

Several theorists have attempted to summarize the essential developmental dilemmas and tasks of mid-life for men and women. The efforts by Brim (1977) and McCoy et al (1978) are noteworthy.

Brim, as a result of a critical review, summarizes the causes and tasks of male mid-life transitions: 1) adapting to biological and endocrine changes; 2) assessing realistic work achievement and adjusting career aspirations, usually downward, to fit current realities; 3) resurgence and reevaluation of the "dream" as conceptualized by Levinson, including mourning its unfulfilled aspects that must be given up; 4) overcoming potential stagnation and moving

toward true generativity and its accompanying sense of responsibility and interest in the development of the younger generation; 5) confronting death and one's mortality resulting in a shift to "time left to live", liberated energy, and greater self-acceptance; 6) reassessing primary family relationships, including the recognition of one's limitation in molding one's child into an "ideal being" and the necessity of integrating the contrasexual opposite into one's personality and the husband-wife relationship. That is, while a man is becoming more sensitive and nurturing, more interested in love than power, and more dependent, his wife is moving in the opposite direction, away from a nurturing position and dependency on her husband. As a result, the husband's source of support and nurturance is more precarious at mid-life, and must be dealt with; and 7) changing one's social status and role which is "on-time or off-time", using Neugarten's terms. Career or unanticipated changes may contribute maximally to the development of a mid-life crisis.

McCoy et al (1978) have also attempted to summarize the major dilemmas men and women face around mid-life. Building on this effort, the works we have reviewed, and our own preliminary research findings, we have summarized the major identifiable and interrelated developmental tasks and dilemmas for mid-life men and women in Chart III on the following pages.

In summary, with respect to determinants, time boundaries and the like, we conclude that insufficient evidence exits for specific age-bound developmental stages in the mid-life period in which events, tasks, and personality changes must come in sequence. However, we do believe that there is a phase-like process to an extended mid-life transition and/or crisis, and that these phases are unique for men and women. The documentation and delineation of the phase-like nature of the mid-life period and the management of mid-life crises remain two of the more interesting research questions. Also, in agreement with Erikson, Gutmann, Neumann, Jung, and others, we do believe that the quality and experience of the mid-life transition will be dramatically affected by the manner in which previous developmental stages and related tasks have been mastered, traversed, and integrated into the personality. It is also very clear that little is known about the contribution to the male and female mid-life experiences of individual

Chart III

Major Developmental Tasks of Mid-Life

Developmental Task	Issues and Themes	Dilemmas for Men	Dilemmas for Women
Acceptance of death and mortality	Death becomes personalized in terms of death anxiety as parents and others become ill or die. Focus on "time left to live"	Struggle with meaning of death, mortality and life Sets stage for major reassessment of self, life, primary relationships, etc. to date, and vision and hope for second half of life Rework depressive position	
Accept biological limitations and health risks	Recognize bodily changes and meaning Shift in sex drive Greater vulnerability to stress and physical illness	Accept physical changes in form of flabbiness, fatigue, physical strength limitations and fluctuations in sex drive Increased vulnerability to stress and physical illness (heart attacks, stroke, hypertension, etc.)	Acknowledge and deal with changes in physical attractiveness Accept pre-menopausal and climateric imbalance and changes Deal with increased sexual interest, energy and fantasies as mid-aged spouse interest fluctuates; fantasies of outside relationships
Restructuring of sexual identity and self-concept	Integration of contrasexual opposite components of personality Re-emergence of struggle for individuation from early and current relationships and systems Reassess fit between current and projected needs for second half of life and reality of work role and personal identity	Recognize, experience and integrate emergent more passive, dependent, intimacy-oriented parts of personality Deal with residual mother-son ties and related fantasies and/or acting out in relation to older maternal and/or younger seductive women as part of integrative struggle Cope with spouse's moves toward greater personal, career, etc. individuation and autonomy	Recognize, experience and integrate emergent more independent, agressive, competitive parts of personality Reassess current housewife, work and/or career roles and possibilities given empty nest and increasing personal needs for autonomy and individuation Explore and deal with anxiet guilt, fear and other early based disruptive feelings aroused by more aggressive, egocentric and autom wishes and lov

Chart III, cont'd.

		Re-evaluate work/career components of the Dream; including own achievement-striving and projection and recognition of what will be achieved and how high up one will progress Explore alternative types of work and/or career possibilities, particularly if current options are limited	particularly in relation to home, work, career and important primary relationships Deal with threat to spouse (who has become more needy and resentful of own neediness) caused by moves toward individuation and independence particularly in mid-life dual-career families
Reassess and restructure relationships to spouse, children and parents	Conflict between nuturance intimacy and individuation needs in husband-wife relationship	Struggle to achieve balance between needs for intimacy and to "be taken care of" by spouse/partner and growing individuation of spouse	Struggle to achieve balance and integration of emergent autonomous needs and spouse/partner's emergent intimacy and care-taking needs
	Empty nest and loss of close relationships to adolescent children as they begin to individuate	Children begin to leave, distance selves and differentiate at a time when father feels need for closer, more meaningful and intimate relationships; struggle to accept waning of influence over children	Empty nest demphasizes role of homemaker, mothering and signals search for meaningful alternative roles and commitments; preparation for possible widowhood or living alone
	Shift in relationship to parents	Need to deal with guilt as aging, ill and increasingly more dependent parents place son in decision-making/senior patriarch role	Aging ill parents require daughter to become more maternal care-taker and to deal with ambivalence triggered by conflect with needs to individuate
		Potential illness and/or impending death offers the opportunity to balance books, integrate ambivalent feelings towards parents setting stage for anticipating grief; contributes to personalizing of death, death anxiety and a shift to a "time left to live" time perspective	

Chart III, cont'd.

Reorientation to work, career, creativity and achievement	Recognize realistic limitations and possibilities in work and career and explore alternatives	Reach or can see peak of career, reassess and give up parts of the Dream; fear of stagnation	Turn outward and experience new energy in relation to work, career, educational community or related opportunities Deal with anxiety and lack of information about how to get there as well as concer about competence, lack of skill, etc.
	Intensification of attraction and preoccupation with fantasies of dramatic mid-career work or professional role change and/or geographic moves	Wish to magically resolve internal struggles, sense of stagnation by externalization in the form of dramatic and disruptive work/career or geographic shifts Turn more inward to family life and community service	Move into the educational, work or professional world exacerbates discrepancy between developmental statu as mid-lifer and very junio or subordinate role or position (e.g., student, assistant professor, etc.) in the organization
	Concern with generativity, the "monument", the legacy to be left behind, the next generation	Beginnings of emergent generativity; need to realistically assess whether the "great book", program or other form of monument will ever be realized; interest in the next generation, youth and mentoring	Growing recognition for child rearers that children may be an important but insufficient legacy; exploration of alternative ways of leaving one's mark.

differences in historical psycho-social predispositions, adaptive and copying strategies, and relative success or failure in managing prior adult transitions and developmental tasks.

B. Are consistent and reliable general and gender-related shifts in personality and social orientation identifiable during mid-life?

Clinical, cross-cultural, survey, and other evidence suggest a major shift and gender reversal during the mid-life transition. One pattern which has been consistently noted is a change in focus from predominantly outward orientation to a more inward or reflective orientation for both mid-life men and women.

For example, Neugarten et al (1968) on the basis of their studies note that youth is characterized as outer directed more often than middle or old age, which are characterized as more inner directed. As one grows older, there is an increasing saliency of inner life, an emphasis on introspection, and assessment of one's life.

Levinson (1978), Jung, C. (1969), Sheehy (1974), and Neumann (1959) similarly note that this reversal in the pattern of inward/outward focus occurs around mid-life with extraordinary implications for the remaining stages of adult development. Explanations for the shift are offered by Jung, Sheehy, and Neumann as a dynamic transformation of libido from the tasks of the first half of life (establishment of one's psycho-social identity within the social system) to the tasks of the second half of life (which include the integration of the parts of the self which were excluded from the personality in the formation of the psycho-social identity). Jung (1964) speaks of this shift in focus as the beginning of a psychological dis-identification of the ego with the persona (the psychological identity).

Sheehy (1974) states that this shift occurs in the stage of adult development called "Catch 30" in which there is a growing sense of the narrowness of the self.

Levinson (1978b) suggests that the shift from outer to inner directedness occurs around the mid-life transition (from the early to the late 40s), and is a central feature of the questioning of one's current life structure. Emerging patterns occurring as a result of this mid-life shift from outer to inner directedness include the tendency to recognize and integrate the contrasexual opposite (Gutmann, 1976; Jung, 1969; Sheehy, 1974; Levinson, 1978b; Neumann, 1969; and Neugarten et al, 1968), and the need to alter the structure of the self through the integration of rejected parts in a move toward wholeness of the

personality.

This parallels a second major shift concerning the sexual identity and self-concept of males and females during mid-life, focusing the integration of more covert cross-sex qualities into the personality. For example, Jung (1969), Wolff (1956), Neugarten et al (1964, 1968), Gutmann (1976), among others, speculate and provide some empirical and clinical evidence that women tend to move toward greater instrumentality, integrating more autonomous, independent, competitive and aggressive qualities into their personality while men tend to allow themselves to experience the more repressed, or suppressed, expressive, passive, dependent, intimacy related parts of their personality. The significance and importance of these developments, particularly for mid-life men, was highlighted by the emergence of complex and differentiated pregnancy fantasies (e.g., give birth to a program, a book, a building, a plan) in some of the interviews we have conducted.

Levinson (1978b) states that one crucial issue of this phase of the mid-life struggle is the changing relation to the self. For men, this change is often proceeded by a flowering of fantasies about older maternal or younger more sexualized women. Levinson suggests that these fantasies represent a developmental effort by the psyche, whose aim is to free the man from a more one-sided stereotypic masculine development of consciousness. Further, the goal is to free one's self more completely from the boy-mother relationship with the erotic transformative "feminine" as a means of healing old psychic wounds and of learning to love formerly devalued aspects of the self.

Similarly, Jungians (Jung, C., 1969; Wolff, 1956; and Neumann, 1959) postulate that the integration of the contrasexual opposite, the animus and anima, is a necessary prerequisite to further individuation of the personality. For the women, the integration of the animus results in a more differentiated thinking function and consciousness. For the man, the integration of the Eros principle, the anima, brings a greater sense of relatedness.

Neugarten et al (1968) describe the issue of masculine and feminine role reversal in terms of dominance and submission. They state that with increasing age men and women reverse roles in terms of dominance and submission. Men are seen as becoming less dominant, and more affiliative and nurturing, while women are seen as becoming more dominant, ego-centric and aggressive, and less affiliative.

In conclusion, whether the language is Jungian or more socio-psychological, we believe that the emergence at mid-life of more covert male and female qualities for the opposite sex is reasonably well documented. One testable hypothesis is that contemporary young women will exhibit greater instrumentality at a younger age, due to current social-historical changes in sex role, heterosexual relationships, and expectations. One additional aspect of this development, requiring further investigation, is the contribution of the male and male image to the female's experience of mid-life. For example, Bardwick (1971, 1974) points to the significance of the father-daughter relationship in the foundation of the female identity pattern of affiliation.

Horney (1967) states that the masculinity complex of women can be accounted for in terms of societal favoritism accorded males in our society.

Neumann (1959) suggests that the formation of the female personality depends first on the relationship of primary identification with the mother, but later development centers on the integration of the animus and a relationship to the transpersonal aspect of the animus. Emma Jung (1969) similarly stresses the importance of the integration of the projected aspects of masculinity for the psychological wholeness of the female personality.

Carl Jung (1969) further suggests that the role of the male is an important indicator of the intrapsychic character, attitudes, and disposition of the women's animus, i.e., as it is revealed in projection of the external figure of the man. His role is a reflection of the undeveloped (and hence, projected) aspect of the animus.

C. <u>What is the role of death, death anxiety, in changing perspectives on time and attitudes toward the second half of life during mid-life</u>?

For a number of theorists, the personal confrontation with death and related death anxiety is a central component of mid-life development for both men and women (Jacques, 1965; Neugarten et al, 1964, 1968; Levinson et al, 1978b).

For example, Neugarten et al (1968) state that for the young adult (20 to 30), life is seen as time since birth; however, by maturity (30 to 40) life is seen as time until death. By old age (60+), the awareness of death serves as the impetus for new and final restructuring. Neugarten notes that there is a personalization of death in the middle years, a recognition of one's own mortality which is experienced particularly by middle-aged women as a rehearsal for widowhood.

Vaillant (1977a, 1977b), describes men in the final stage of development, Keepers of the Meanings vs. Rigidity (50+), as worried over the death of the spouse rather than their own deaths.

Levinson (1978b) suggests that the concern with one's mortality appears at an earlier stage, i.e., in the mid-life transition (MLT) which spans the period from the early to the late 40s. During these years, the man confronts and deals with the illusions of omnipotence.

Several theorists have emphasized that the final stage of adult development is one of acceptance of one's mortality and life cycle (Erikson, 1959, 1963 Sheehy, 1974; Jung, C., 1969; Gould, 1972; and Levinson et al, 1976a, 1978b). By implication, the failure to achieve an integrated sense of self-acceptance can set the stage for later psychopathology and/or contribute directly to the development of selected symptoms and disorders.

D. What are the implications of the mid-life transition/crisis for psychopathology?

Some theorists have speculated about the unique implications of adult development theory in general, and of the mid-life crisis in particular for the emergence and treatment of various forms of psychopathology.

For example, Gutmann (1976) has attempted to link the emergence of bi-sexuality in mid-life men to various symptoms. He argues that male emerging passivity-dependence needs in mid-life may no longer be gratified by more autonomous, independent and assertive spouses or partners. This situation can set the stage for husbands, so disposed, to develop alcoholic or psychosomatic symptoms, as a means of gratifying oral needs and/or of "being taken care of". In addition, he suggests that the mid-age male who leaves his wife for a younger, more seductive women may not be doing so to reaffirm his sexual potency but to re-externalize the more passive components of his personality. Hence, he is searching for a more dependent, adoring younger female to participate in the denial of the emergent, more passive aspects of his personality.

Kernberg (1978), in a more encouraging note, suggests that the mid-life narcissistic personality may be more ready at this stage for active treatment than at any other period during his or her life.

Conclusions and Implications

The major conclusions and implications can be summarized as follows:

1. Methodological Considerations

a. Although several survey and quantitative studies have been carried out, the most influential work and theorizing in the area have been of a more clinical descriptive and qualitative nature. Though rich in insights that can be tested in a more systematic manner, sampling, data collection, and other limitations suggest that the generalizability of these observations must be viewed with caution.

b. Observational, interview, self-assessment, and projective test techniques are the most common data-gathering procedures in adult development and mid-life research. Although researchers such as Gould, Vaillant, Neugarten et al, and Levinson use questionnaires or biographies, more empirical methods and designs have not been successfully adapted to the study of the complexity of the mid-life experience. This remains a persistent dilemma for the area of adult development in general.

c. Studies which have employed more systematic data collection techniques (e.g., interviews or projectives) often fail to report or test the measurement characteristics (e.g., reliability, validity, etc.) of their instruments. In addition, their sampling procedures may reflect systematic biases which limit generalizability. Studies generating baseline and normative data derived from more systematically drawn samples are clearly in order.

2. Theoretical and Empirical Considerations

a. There is some documentation (largely clinical or qualitative but not empirical) for the existence of a mid-life transition period extending from approximately 30 to 35 years of age. This period may last as long as ten years, and seems to be particularly difficult or stressful for predominantly white, middle-class men. This does not imply that a similar period and related developmental struggle bypasses members of minority, other ethnic, and social class groups. These groups remain to be identified and studied. A less well-demarcated but equally stressful transition phase for women can be identified in the studies reviewed. Basic and fundamental biological, psycho-social and social themes,

and developmental tasks can be identified for this period, and their manifestations are somewhat different for men and women.

b. The related questions of the exact timing, sequencing and age boundaries of mid-life and other adult developmental phases remain ambiguous. Considerable progress has been made in identifying and understanding the major issues, themes, a nd developmental tasks which bring on a mid-life transition and influence the manner in which this phase of development is experienced and worked through. The manner in which previous developmental tasks and phases were handled will similarly affect the course and experience of the mid-life transition/crisis.

c. Evidence (clinical, cross-cultural, and survey) suggests a major shift in orientation by gender around mid-life (i.e., women move toward greater instrumentality, men toward more of the expressive role). Whether the language is Jungian or that of the social psychologist, the emergence at mid-life of the more covert male and female qualities for the opposite sex is generally agreed. One testable hypothesis is that contemporary young women will exhibit greater instrumentality at a younger age because of current social-historical changes in sex role, heterosexual relationships, and expectations.

d. More clinically oriented theorists tend to build their viewpoints upon the foundations laid by others, thus introducing considerable conceptual continuity. (Levinson is influenced by Erikson, who in turn pays tribute to Jung.)

e. An adult development viewpoint can contribute to our understanding of certain forms of psychopathology which are more frequent at mid-life. For example, several themes and developments for men and women and couples during mid-life (e.g., emergence of contrasexual opposite personality components such as passivity in men and autonomy needs in women) are potentially useful in contributing to our understanding of the high incidence of alcoholism and psychosomatic disorders arising in mid-aged men and of divorce for mid-aged couples. These and related concerns highlight the importance of taking into account individual differences in historically determined psychogenic predispositions, the availability of adaptive and coping strategies, life stresses, other developmental considerations, and the like to understand the quality, intensity, and experience of mid-life for men and women.

3. Implications for Future Research

a. Much of the work in the area of mid-life development has been carried out with predominantly white, middle- and upper-class males. In addition to more systematic work on the mid-life development of women, additional baseline data on developmental variations by social class, ethnic, and racial differences as well as in clinical populations are called for.

b. Several questions about the role played by major social systems and organizational parameters, particularly in relation to female mid-life development, have emerged from our review. For example, the role of mentors for women in organizational life requires much further study. And we need to look at the sources of stress and coping patterns within the family system as its members engage in dual career situations. What is the appropriate strategy and timing for preventative interventions in relation to the above?

c. The "dream" in Levinson's terms has been identified as an important developmental theme and component of the mid-life struggle for men. The female counterpart requires similar examination and its role in female adult development clarified. (This question is currently under investigation by our research team as part of a longer study of the adult development of women. One phase of this research involves the development of a systematic assessment package.)

d. Another question concerns the facilitative and/or disruptive contribution of partners of the opposite sex (e.g., husbands capacity to cope with and support the wife) to the quality of coping during the mid-life transition as the process of sex role shifts, individuation, and serious dual careers become more and more of a reality.

e. Finally, the recent and increasing trend for mid-life women to move into significant positions in academic, as well as the private and public sectors, suggests the need to identify and study off-time patterns involving discrepancies between personal or developmental time frames and career positions or organizational time tables. For example, what are the unique sources of stress and support for a mid-life female assistant professor who is expected to compete with younger and perhaps more energetic colleagues?

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DEVELOPMENTAL POTENTIALS OF THE LATER HALF OF LIFE

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Is there mid-life, as we keep hearing, or is it the latest fad? The final test of its reality rests with one's own experience. People have written about adult development for a long time, but why this enormous preoccupation with mid-life in the last two or three years? I don't know the answer, but I can speculate on a couple of possibilities.

The problem, as it is being presented, seems to be largely a white, middle-class male phenomenon. The major writings that have been done (Levinson, Gould, Valliant) are good, but limited. No solid studies exist; not a single study that has been replicated or has used appropriate, even minimal, standards of scientific social science methodological rigors. The Valliant study started with 250 people and dropped to 94; you don't know what the ones who dropped out look like. Levinson's work is a clinical study of 40 people selected in a very casual manner; some in therapy, some off the streets, some because they were interesting. What you see in Levinson is the systematic, sensitive ability of him and a few colleagues to organize some highly complex data. It is a case study, nothing else. The only systematic studies that have collected much data are those done over a period of years by Neugarten and associates. Their data are expansive and rich; but, in my view, they clearly do not provide definitive evidence that such a thing as mid-life crisis or mid-life stage of development exists. However, when I look at the limited data that I think is empirically sound, together with my own private work, I have to say, there is something here even if it doesn't make sense theoretically. I will not stand by specific data or say that these are the only changes occurring in developmental tasks and issues; but I will say that there's something of substantial importance and interest here that one has to fit into a larger concept of adult development.

Let's get some of the terms clear and express some of the general viewpoints. First of all, mid-life is not a static process. Mid-life, if it is a stage, and we will assume so, is probably a period that covers about ten years. What happens in the early stages of mid-life isn't necessarily what happens in the latter part. How you handle the phases of mid-life development depends on how you have handled

other aspects of your adult development. Psycho-social development gives you certain coping strategies, resources, and the like, to use. How you put those concepts to work and cope with earlier adult developmental stages and tasks will clearly influence how you handle mid-life and the key crises later on, such as aging and preparing to die. You can study people who are 35 to 40 years of age and make observations about them; but when you begin to put those observations in the context of a continuous process and make connections between certain chronological or socially defined phases, you're beginning to approach the concept of adult development theory. Mid-life has to be placed in the context of a theory of adult development. It does not exist in a vacuum.

Another critical factor that determines the nature of the mid-life experience is the social and career support networks in which you are functioning. If you're a mid-career, mid-life, middle manager in private enterprise and you're beginning to experience considerable executive stress, it is a self-development issue. Usually organizational management cannot identify someone who is going through an adult development crisis; consequently, there is no support for those people. On the other hand, it is possible to set up a supportive structure within an organization that will help people grow from development crises.

Let's talk about academia, a world I know quite well. What happens when a discrepancy develops between the individual's adult development time line and the organization's career time schedule? For example, in academia you have a clear time frame for career advancement; instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, tenure, full professor, Emeritus professor. What if there is a difference between one's individual or professional career age and one's organizational time frame? For instance, the counseling program that I head has about 70 to 80 mid-career women (60-70% of the total group) with an age range of 28 to 57. We will soon graduate a 58-year-old woman with a Ph.D. who's going to get a job in an academic setting. Career-wise she will be only one or two years old!

Levinson makes a useful distinction between transition and a stable period. That is, every transition is a preparation for exiting from a previous stage and moving into the next stage. You are likely to experience more stress during transition than you are during a stable period. However, a transition period can get out of control. Life is a series of decisions: to change jobs, to get a divorce, and so on. These are major life change events, but may not be crises by themselves. However, add them up together and they produce an enormous amount of stress. When

the stress level exceeds your capacity to cope and things are out of control, that constitutes a crisis.

In terms of the developmental cycle, I believe there are three major issues in life. One is sexuality. Freud and Erickson are pretty accurate in describing the early stage. If I were to plot the consalience of sexuality during the life cycle, I would say it's fairly high during early childhood, appears again at adolescence, then levels off. Finally, it's not that strong a determinant of behavior in the latter part of the life cycle. This is not to say that people don't have any sexual interest or that conflicts don't persist; but sexuality does not have the same effect on behavior and development as it did earlier in life.

Another issue would be the struggle for identity in its broadest existential sense. Identity as Erickson uses it becomes a key issue probably during the late teens, early 20s, even mid-20's. After that period, identity is not a major issue until mid-life; then it recedes in old age.

The third issue is fear of death, not really a major concern for children or young adults. They're curious about it, a little scared; but it doesn't really affect people strongly until about age 30. At that time, for some reason I don't understand, it peaks. Then the fear seems to level off, only to become the primary preoccupation during mid-life. I think the enormous anxiety around death is triggered by the social-structural time frame, by the loss of one's parents, one's own biological decline, and all the other factors that tend to come together around age 31 to 40 or 45, or even longer. As a result, you start looking at how much time you've got left, not how long it's been since you were born, and you begin the difficult process of assessing your entire life. "Let me imagine that I'm 65 and think of all the things that I should have done, been, had, not had, experienced, and let me do them now." But you discover that you're locked into a job and a relationship.

The process of assessment doesn't happen all at once; it comes in bits and spurts and you defend against it. But at some point you begin to deal with the situation. Some people act impulsively and sail to the South Sea Islands. Others struggle; still others go into therapy, encounter groups, TA groups, GA groups, FA groups. Regardless of our wishes, this point in life requires a realistic, hard-headed assessment and that is difficult to do. My sense is that every group, every individual -- irrespective of race, sex, or social class -- must come to grips with the reality of their life at some point during that 10 to 15 year mid-life

span. How you cope, how you experience the anxiety, may depend on socio-demographic variables. But the underlying concerns are inevitable, and they seem to arise in this culture as a result of both internal and external forces coalescing around that period. How you engage them, how you resolve them, will be contingent upon how you've resolved and engaged other developmental tasks, what strengths and vulnerabilities you have, your support systems, and your realistic options.

Let's deal with a couple of interesting concepts that Levinson and others have suggested. One is the "dream" and the other is the critical question of mentors. Let's deal with mentors first. Mentors can be defined as those who take you by the hand and help you with your career. But mentoring also involves an active teaching component. The mentor and his or her protege get together magically; it's seldom, if ever, a formal arrangement either in industry, academia, or public service. Let me give you a concrete example of what the mentor does. Say he or she is in an executive committee meeting and someone suggests that the firm try to obtain a grant in a particular area. The mentor says, "I know Diane Smith who has done a terrific paper on the subject." Smith's name then becomes connected in the minds of the executive committee with the particular area of interest to the firm. The mentor relationship is established, almost accidentally, and continues over a period of years.

What are the benefits for the mentor? They include generativity, power, prestige - "so and so's students always get placed at Harvard, Yale, Chicago, Stanford (or maybe Northwestern)."

Most people who make it in an organizational setting at some level have mentors. Unless you're exceptionally competent, or exceptionally driven, or capable of managing your own PR, you will have to work twice as hard to move up in the system as will someone who has a good mentor working for them, especially in private industry. The most discriminatory form of mentoring is the "old boys' club". This is bastardization of the mentor role, focusing on sponsoring only and overlooking the critical teaching role.

Legitimate mentoring happens in the following case. You're in an academic setting, and you know you are coming up for tenure in five years. The mentor says, "Let me tell you what that decision-making process is all about. Let me tell you whom you ought to know and what the power structure is. It would be very nice if you pulled in a grant for the department and you should get at least

two or three papers published." The basic message is, I'm willing to go to bat for you, but you've got to give me a good case. That's legitimate mentoring. Particularly in organizational contexts, the mentor becomes on of the critical intermediaries in moving out of mid-life crisis and/or stress into more stable periods and becomes one of the available social support systems and networks that encourages adaptive growth.

The dream is interesting because it is part of the struggle of reassessment You must take hold of the dream (assuming that it hasn't been cut off early in life). You have to know what parts of the dream can be transferred into reality, and mourn those parts that are no longer possible. You're not going to do the great book, you may only do a good book. You're not going to be president of GM, but you might make it to head of the design division.

One point that no one - Levinson and others - discusses is the crippling of a dream, having it cut off early in life. You may dream of being a doctor. You achieve the grade level you need, then are cut from the list of med-school candidates for discriminatory reasons. This can leave a gaping hole in whatever life structure you build in the future.

The dream changes, and you can get a new dream at mid-life. The point is you give up its magical, illusionary aspects , but often only under the pressure of the death anxiety. At that point it becomes eaiser to accept limitations.

What if the dream is accomplished by mid-life? That may create equally difficult problems. One should never define Mecca, the Holy Grail, or the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow too precisely. Part of what happens, particularly to some executives or faculty, is that they've made it, and they know what their life is going to be like from then on. Then they may ask, what's left? For some people the answer can be, not much.

Interventions have to do with the major support systems, the stage of the mid-life process, who the person is and how strong he or she may be, the level of anxiety, the level of stress, and so on. This seminar is an intervention. What it does, if it does anything, is convince you that there is such a thing as a mid-life crisis, that it does have some experiential reality. Then you relax and say, "I'm not crazy. In fact, all I'm doing is struggling with normal adult development." It's an educational intervention. If you are working in an organization, you may change your attitude toward those who are having a

difficult time adjusting to change. That's a low level, low key intervention. You can do organizational intervention. Go to your mental health services in the organization and say something like this: "There are folks who are drinking, but they aren't really alcoholics. They may need a chance, in a confidential private way, to meet with other folks." You can help set up groups.

The point is that the nature of the intervention, whether it's individual, group level, or social system level; whether it is more passive, simply imparting information; or whether it is more intrapsychic depends on who the clients are and what the task is. The structure, the nature of the intervention, must develop from your identification and assessment of the needs and difficulties the client system is dealing with and your articulation of the task of that intervention.

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CULTURE, CURRICULUM AND INTERGENERATIONAL COMMUNICATION

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You might ask, what has an anthropologist who studies gypsies in India to say to educators or intermediaries who help people with career and life decisions? One of the things we learn from cross-cultural study in anthropology, particularly brought home to me when I was working with Asian entertainers (nomadic jugglers and acrobats), is that these people constantly appraise each other's skills throughout the life cycle. The appraisal is done in terms of what the individual can do most successfully to contribute to his family in the social group. It is a lifelong process. If a man reaches 50 or 60 and finds it difficult to travel long distances, he is evaluated by his peers and his family members. Should he go into handling legal disputes or training your children? The evaluation is a group process, very family oriented. They would not believe that in this country we have full-time professionals advising people unrelated to themselves, professionals who know nothing about their clients' parents or grandparents. They would not understand how a social system could operate with strangers giving advice to other strangers.

All of this serves as preface to what I think is a problem as well as a resource for those of us who help people make life cycle decisions. I am looking at the content of this conference as a problem in socialization. We might conceptualize socialization as a process which binds society to new individuals, and binds members of society together in producing new individuals, whose responsibility will be to perpetuate society. The socialization process refers to a wide range of complex phenomena that includes all of the external stimuli received by individuals. We might conceptualize socialization as the sum total of an individual's past social experience.

The results or consequences of the socialization process depend not only upon the biogenetic material of every individual and the degree to which climate, nutrition, nurturing and other variables influence that potential, but also the behavior of the major socializing agents, those adults and peers with whom the individual is or has been in regular contact throughout the life cycle. The process of socialization ensures that individuals have the necessary adaptive behavior in terms of social behavioral skills, perceptual and cognitive abilities

technical and verbal skills, and the like. In all humans and, interestingly enough, nonhuman primate groups, socialization appears to ensure that the adaptive behavior of each generation will not have to be rediscovered by each group. All primates, especially human beings, display an interesting phenomenon relative to almost all other animals - we have a longer period of infant dependency. This is a key factor. Perhaps of all the species we have the longest period of infant dependency. In addition, through social and technological change and innovation, we have perhaps the longest expanded life cycle, certainly among all primates. Thus, individual experience tends to assume a much more vital role in shaping behavior and adaptive patterns. This prolonged period of childhood dependency enhances the nature, amount, and complexity of learning that is possible. This in turn increases the adult and older individual's opportunity to shape the younger individual's behavior to meet local and other socio-ecological conditions. A resource that we as intermediaries often do not use are people over age 55 or 65 years. These people need to be treated as valuable resources rather than as problems. Now a growing body of research on, again, nonhuman as well as human primates indicate a definite relationship between prolonged post-natal dependency and the increasing complexity of adult behavior in social relationships. This in turn is related to greater flexibility in behavior, a factor that appears to be critical to our survival. Certainly we can say this is the case if we look at humanity over 3 million years of evolution.

In each period of our life cycle, and this would be true in almost all cultures, we can define four main elements in the socialization process. They are:

1. What is the typical life condition of a group, what we in anthropology would call the social-ecological milieu, or the style that dominates the attention of adults and their offspring at any given time?
2. Who are the agents of socialization, those individuals and social units that typically play a role in the socialization process in the various stages of the life cycle? Let me point out that very often in the past socialization has been used almost exclusively to refer to the period of birth to adolescence. Socialization is an ongoing process from birth to death. This point is the essence of this conference.

3. What are the objectives, goals, and values of the socializing agents? What are the objectives that they set for themselves, or that they follow and how are they evaluated?
4. What are the primary learning tasks facing an individual? What are the problems to be solved, and how do the different groups and individuals in the life cycle perceive and define these life problems? What are the skills needed to cope with the problems that confront individuals from their internal perspective and their perspective as members of a group or groups throughout the life cycle?

The kinds of variables associated with socializing agents in a society (sex, age, relative adult status, relative closeness to an individual in terms of kinship, the degree of social intimacy between the socializing agent and the individual being socialized) seem to influence the process in all primates, most particularly in human beings. Now, as products of ongoing socialization processes, we are sensitive to how some of these variable characteristics were and are operating and are instrumental in shaping our own behavioral repertoire. As members of families, as professional educators, trainers, and counselors, we are doubly immersed in the socialization process.

To better understand our role in this process, I am going to dwell for a few moments on two aspects of socialization that I believe have received insufficient attention. They are, first, what I call structural features in American society and how they affect family organization, and, second, what I call the affective domain or the nature of social intimacy and its role in successful socialization. By structural features I am talking about the organization of people along lines of kinship. Since the family tends to have the primary responsibility for socializing people in all societies, we should look at how the family role and internal structure may influence our jobs and certainly our own interaction as intermediaries or counselors or socializing agents. Considerable cross-cultural evidence has been gathered to support the idea that the way family groups organize themselves has implications for learning. In almost all cultures there is a difference between the expectations and the affective content of the relationship between people of adjacent generations, you and your children or you and your parents, and the kinds of behavior that you expect and find between alternate generations. The relationship between people in adjacent generations is often more formal. This is not always true, but very often the relationship, particularly between a child and a grandparent, is

more consistently relaxed. The parents may not determine the social rules, but they have to enforce them. We tend in this society to put the responsibility of training children and teen-agers on the parents. If we look at the structural setting of adjacent and alternate generations, I would suggest that we begin to examine the role of the grandparent in helping teen-agers become better citizens. Perhaps we should not put that responsibility solely on parents, where it tends to be formal. I think there is too much pressure on the parent unit; pressure on it from aging parents and pressure from children. This may be a contributing factor in the extremely high divorce rate. You will note that in Havighurst's program there is nothing about training for responsbility or obligation to younger generations. Maybe this is an American cultural value, that older people do not have a responsibility to younger generations. We might learn from other cultures that older generations can be a valuable resource, and train young children and parents to recognize this. Some of my best learning experiences came from my grandparents who had the time and patience to work with me. My parent were agricultural people who did not have much informal time to give me.

Aren't we as counselors and educators in the same position to our students as parents? We are the adjacent generation. We are the people that enforce the rules, evaluate and set the guidelines. This concept leads me into the next important item we need to consider, the affective content of the interaction of an individual with his socializing agent.

In this culture, we are very good about discussing the problems we have in carrying out our roles as teachers, advisers, and the like; and I have heard a lot of discussion about how we can be more effective. After living outside of the U. S. for a number of years and coming back, I am struck by the fact that we do not invest much energy in the affective nature of our relationship with those we are counseling. We know that the amount of affective input that goes into a relationship -- love, hate, trust, fear -- is important in determining the outcome of a socializing relationship. However, institutionally, structurally, and in our jobs we do not have a chance to build any kind of an affective bond with the individuals who come to us lest we be accused of favoritism. We have to maintain formal relationships. This is something that is a problem to anybody who is an educator and cares about it. What is the affective responsibility and what is our responsibility in the affective domain?

According to people in many other countries, a common problem, particularly in Micronesia, with American A.I.D. and other workers is that they are full of sound practical advice and technical knowledge, but they don't give a damn about anybody as a human being. It seems that the Micronesians, for instance, would prefer to have the Japanese back even though the Japanese beat them from time to time and did not always give them the best technical know-how. But they said the Japanese had "tong", which happens to be a Japanese word meaning "they care", they have a feel for us as people. They said Americans are a wonderful people; they have lots of money, they have lots of technical skill, but they have no "tong".

There are many extremely lonely students on Northwestern's campus, persons 19 or 20 years old, who feel no one really cares about them as human beings. Many of them would like to establish a relationship with someone who has more experience, opportunity, and the like; but it has to be formal, they can't express it. At the end of the class you may get a note, "I really liked you as a professor." This affective responsibility is hard to incorporate into an American education system, it is hard to incorporate into any society where we have tended to formalize the roles that deal with the educative process. One of the things that I have tried to do in my classes, and believe me it is an uphill grind, is to get the tuition lowered to bring older people into the classroom. In about four courses, I have been relatively successful. Two of them are in the Evening Division and I have had three- and in one case four- generation classrooms where the age distribution was about equal. The process of developing these seminars with three and four generations has been extremely interesting. When the regular students in their 20s see people their parents' or grandparents' age in the classroom , they think they have signed up for the wrong course. There was an initial period of suspicion, particularly among the younger people; after all, many had never been in a three-generation group with a common task. When we began to take up problems in the course, a very interesting network of relationships emerged, providing emotional and experiential support. Age did not decrease effective learning. The young person is obviously there for a "goal" directive. Middle-aged people, the first ascending generation, are also interested in goal-oriented education to promote themselves in their jobs, to accumulate credit toward a master's degree, and the

like. The second and third ascending generations came, with one exception, simply because I asked them and they were interested.

What I am suggesting is that we start meeting the affective emotional needs of our students or individuals, be they old or young, in making better lifecycle decisions by creating a structural setting that includes two or three generations.

Is it true, as Professor Hsu of the Anthropology Department has pointed out, that the family is no longer meeting the affective and emotional needs of its members? We have an economic and social setting that reinforces a small, mobile social unit, i.e., the nuclear family. The problem of the nuclear family is that it is comprised of all adjacent generations. There are no supports, particularly in our system, for the older members. If we can't incorporate the older people back into the family setup, perhaps we might begin to approximate some of this structure in our more formal settings, particularly where we are going to have to emphasize the younger child. We have had to adapt in the Western world to small, basic social units in order to survive. But our emotional needs have not adapted or evolved to accommodate the structure of the small nuclear family. Professor Hsu[1] and others relate this fact, very effectively, to the increasing vandalism rate. For instance, some evidence exists to show that in schools where students have a "feeling" about their teachers, about their school, vandalism goes down. In industry we know from a number of studies that where employees "feel" something about their bosses and the company, absenteeism declines, vandalism drops, and so on. I am putting in a plug for the human resources available to us that have not been fully exploited, certainly not in the educational setting.

A brief article written by a grandmother in the December-January issue (1976-1977) of Modern Maturity mentioned ten gifts grandmothers can give to grandchildren. The author has some ideas we might think about in terms of our own recourse utilization. The first gift is one of self-worth. Granparents have the time to help the child do and create things, to feel important. I have seen too many students who have grown up without this sense of self-worth, and they are in a bad way. The second gift is that of an expanded world. Here in Evanston I see grandparents taking children to the fire station, to the park, to the Historical Society, to concerts, and so on. As I think back about my own life, it was my grandparents who expanded my world in terms of imagination and things to dream about. Grandparents can contribute perhaps the most to a sense of caring and responsibility

[1] Hsu, Francis L. K., Professor Emeritus, Anthropology, CAS, Northwestern University

for other people. She points out that sometimes grandparents can forget their inhibitions, are not so concerned with authority, and will tend to listen or play with their grandchildren, entering the imaginary world of the child in a non-threatening way.

Grandparents can very often set an example, the gift of an example. Very often they are the ones that set the example of being honest, or caring for other people, of looking out for other people. One of the major activities of older people in this country is doing volunteer work. They have the time to discuss and include children in some of their exemplary behavior, and have the time and the patience for teaching. (I am not inferring that all old people are the same. I know older people who would drown everybody under 40.) But it was with my grandmother that I learned the multiplication tables and how to cook, even how to read maps.

The author mentions the gift of heritage as part of a group of people. A sense of heritage gives a child an expanded time perspective and a realization of where he or she fits into that perspective. The book and film Roots have given us a renewed interest in our heritage, a sense of historical continuity. Next she proposed that grandparents share happy memories as well as sad memories. I think one of the problems we have in this culture that we might learn something about from the Chinese is a sense of the tradition, pride, and respect associated with our family names through time. I come from a samll rural area, and there were certain things I did not do because it would have brought shame to my family's name.

Finally, there are the gifts of practice time, time to explore and do things not scheduled, and of love and acceptance. Parents sometimes complain that grandparents give too much love, they spoil the children. But grandparents can give love with no strings attached. It is a pure gift, not one that carries the expectation of reciprocity as is so often the case with parents, and which may be necessary for teaching, training, and guiding behavior at the same time.

I think we should reevaluate the structural implications of our social system and see what this structure suggests in terms of human resources. We should try, if we can, to pay more attention to the affective domain in our jobs, not just to equip ourselves to fill the role, but to be concerned with the content of that role in terms of affective behavior.

THE ADULT AS LEARNER

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EDUCATION THROUGH THE LIFE SPAN

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The notion of looking at the life course as social scientists and biological scientists has become popular in the last 15 or 20 years for a number of good reasons. We've learned a lot more about how people progress or change throughout the life cycle. When I moved into the field of human development I came to the University of Chicago as the Coordinator for the Committee on Child Development, looking at children from about 5 or 6, to 12 or so. This was the frontier area in the 1930s and the early '40s. I was working with a departmental group - people from Medical School, Pediatrics, Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology and Home Ecomonics, as well as Education. We all agreed that we must change the title to "Human Development", because we weren't going to stop at the age of 12 or 13; we moved into adolescent development very vigorously. At that time social scientists were really beginning to investigate human development from the years 12 to 20.

In 1945, Ernest Burgess who created what we call the Chicago School of Sociology, asked if I would help him form a subcommittee on social adjustment in old age. Burgess was then on the Committee on Social Adjustment, a part of the Social Science Research Council, a national organization of social scientists. I agreed to help, and we brought in outstanding sociologists from other universities to work with us. Our report, published in 1948, was probably the first attempt to look at the field of social adjustment in old age. At the same time work was going on in other universities. The Gerontological Society actually had its first meeting in 1946. The two publications which we use a great deal, The Gerontologist and The Journal of Gerontology, are publications of this Society.

We quickly realized that we could learn a great deal from the British. They had anticipated us by two or three years, largely because of their social welfare system from the womb to the tomb. They were spending a good deal of money, not on old-age pensions, but on problems of old age. Eventually the

International Association of Gerontology was formed and the first meeting held in Belgium in 1948. The Association is an international fraternity/sorority of men and women interested in gerontology both from the medical and biological side and from the social and psychological side.

As intermediaries, you work with people over 20 or 25 years of age a good deal of the time. There's no question that one reason to continue education for older people is that the undergraduate population is going to stabilize or even decline somewhat. We've reached a point where 80% of our young people finish high school, 50% or more enter college, and 22 or 23 % finish a four-year program. There's little expectation that we'll move much beyond the 50% or so entering college in their teens. People in higher education believe that now is the time to expand continuing education, partly because it will keep teachers busy and partly because such programs can be beneficial to older people. In my judgement, as people write the history of American education they will pick the period from 1980 to probably 2000 as one of enormous expansion in continuing education for adults.

As I discuss now the topic of Education Through the Life Span, first let me say where we are or have been in respect to participation by adults in educational events. We have reasonably good data on this from the Harris poll made in 1974, published by the National Council on the Aging in a paperback book called The Myth and Reality of Aging. You all should have this book in your libraries. This was a national poll of a sample of people from 18 and on up. They over-sampled the people over 65. They started over-sampling people over 55 so that they'd have large enough numbers in these older age groups to handle the material statistically and they also over-sampled the black elderly. So what we have are good, fairly reliable data. Among other things, they asked people whether they had taken part in educational programs. Her are the figures they got for various age groups (this definitely was not non-resident educational programs): 18-24 group, 34%; 25-39, 15%; 40-54 group, 5% (a big drop); 55-64 group, 5%. I'm going to make something of this because my own judgment here is that around age 55 people begin to get interested in themselves and their future so they're likely to come back to some kind of educational program. The 65+ group was only 2%. They broke this down by the education level of these people

and, if we look at the college graduates, that sub-sample of the national poll, it went up to 7%. Seven percent of the people over 65 who are college graduates were involved and 11% of the people from 55-64 so that the 55-64 were from the 5% of the general population and 11% of the college graduates.

The 65+ from 2% of the general population were asked why they were doing this. There were 4 general answers. (I'm not sure whether this was a check list or whether they were asked open-ended questions and then categorized them.) (1) General knowledge was the most frequent answer. I suppose this means that people would say they just wanted more knowledge and weren't more specific. It was the most frequent answer of all ages and comes around between 70 and 85%. They could give more than one reason for taking part in the courses so the total of these will be more than 100%. (2) The next answer was: to develop job skills. The characteristic was motivation, particularly for the younger adult and it shows that: job skills was 60% for the 25-39 group; dropped down to 14% for the 40-54; then it jumped up to 24% for the 55-64 and down to 6% for the 65+. What that tells me is that there is a group in the 55-64 who are shifting and they still want work. They want to shift to another kind so they actually go into some courses to build up their readiness. We know that the CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) money is being used pretty heavily for people over 55 for some retraining for a new job. (3) A good many people said "to make good use of my time". Again, remember I'm talking about college graduates. Among the people from 25-39, 20% said "to make good use of my time." We're seeing here then a group of people over 55 who are having moretime and more concern with making good use of it. (4) To be with other people, which is another category of purpose and motivation, comes out very heavily in the same way. Only 8% of the 25-39 group said to be with other people. This is a group which is heavily concerned with developing job skills. At 40-54 not enough people said to be with other people to figure in this report. When you get to the 55-64 group, 44% said to be with other people. Of the 65+, 28% said to be with other people. It's pretty clear here, I think, that the over-55 group has a different set of motivations. They're coming in in larger numbers, particularly the ones who already had a fair amount of formal education and therefore

are accustomed to formal education. They're not worried or concerned whether they can learn or not. What we're getting is a good deal of interest in being with other people and also in making what they regard as good use of the time, but also a fair amount of people who want a part-time job or a new job.

There is an interesting controversy going on right now about whether people lose their learning ability as they grow older. In the past the general view was that people from about age 25 on began losing intelligence. This was based on tests with a contemporary emphasis. Some of the items on the test were unfamiliar to older people. As a result, the tests gave a misleading picture of their abilities. The Wexler battery of individual tests gives a different result. University people now believe that, on the whole, no decline in intelligence occurs during adulthood unless some kind of pathology is involved. Psychologists, by studying test performance and ability, have defined two kinds of ability. One, which they term "crystalized", remains consistent with age, and may even increase. The other, term "fluid", depends on the physiology of the nervous system. It many well be that the nervous system loses some of its speed and people's reaction time may slow down after age 40 or so. They would not score well on a test that depended on quick response.

The other general distinction I want to make has to do with the two broad types of learning or educative experience that have somewhat different goals. One is called "instrumental learning experience" where the course work or the study is a means toward some end outside of the course, such as a program to upgrade job skills. By and large, younger adults enroll in instrumental courses. The other type of learning experience is called "expressive" where the goal is within the educational program itself to make good use of time or to be with other people of getting out of adult programs. He looked into about 15 different programs from various institutions in the Chicago area and, using a carefully devised questionnaire, asked people how they perceived their learning experience. As he questioned people from 30 on up, it was clear that instrumental motivation was prevalent and even the older people tended to hold on to some kind of instrumental goal. This attitude probably reflects our culture's work-achievement orientation. Later on, however, the reason became increasingly "to be with other people." When asked why, a good many of the oder students said, "To preserve my mental health", while others said, "Just for fun. I like to be with people." The

result of the study showed that the motivation for entering the classroom moved from an instrumental one for the younger adults to a kind of mixed instrumental-expressive motivation for the older adults, some of them in their 80s.

In Eric Erickson's Psycho-social Tasks, covering eight age periods, he designates middle age as a psycho-social task generativity. This is the time when one is generating something for the future, not only for one's family but for a better society. The next task is also future oriented, that is, helping teen-age children become responsible and happy adults. Third, one reaches and maintains a satisfactory performance in one's career and, fourth, one develops adult leisure time activities. Another task is to accept and adjust to the physiological changes of middle age. Obviously for women, the central adjustment here is menopause, while for men it may be hair loss, gaining weight, and so on. Doctors are urging people to pay more attention to these changes rather than wait until it's almost too late to cope. The questions of cutting back or eliminating smoking and alcohol would come up at this time.

The next task is adapting to aging parents. Because of the growing life expectancy, more people around age 40 to 50 are changing their parental relationships; they are no longer children but adults who can help their parents get through their problems. This is often a difficult situation in a family where the parents have dominated; it's hard for the aging parent to give up the domination. On the other hand, it may be necessary to put a parent in a nursing home, another situation that middle-aged adult children may have to face. I am sure that those of us working in community colleges will encounter these problems if we're dealing with middle-class, middle-aged adults.

Another task is adjusting to retirement and reduced income. With inflation it's becoming a severe problem, because, except for social security benefits, nothing else is indexed to the cost of living. A person may retire with a pension of $10,000, as a good many middle-class people do, and at the end of ten years inflation will have cut the buying power of that $10,000 in half. How do middle-income people protect their money from inflation? Can they do it by skillful investment? For example, everyone ought to own a home because the value of homes goes up with inflation, and no one should buy low-interest government bonds. The elderly, as citizens, have a keen interest in inflation and the politics around it.

As government and business economists predict a 6% inflation indefinitely, then schools will have no problem attracting people to courses on the economics of inflation.

Another crisis of aging is adjusting to the death of a spouse. It's a severe problem because by the age of 66 or 67, 50% of the married women in the U. S. are widows. In contrast, only about 15% of the married men are widowers, mainly because men marry younger women.

Making satisfactory physical living arrangements is an important task for older citizens in an urban society. Schools can often provide assistance in this area. We find that 35% of the women and 15% of the men over age 65 live alone. In a study I did called "Seniors in Great Cities" we sampled a group of people who lived alone and paid less than $200 a month for their living quarters. Usually they had a studio or small one-bedroom apartment with a hot plate or something similar. Most of the people we studied were in the Uptown area, which in Chicago is south of Rogers Park, an area of about 4,000 to 5,500 people. We took six different groups and asked them if they were satisfied with their living arrangements, their relations with their families, and so on. By looking at some of our data, you can get a rough score of what might be called "social adjustment". The least well adjusted were the people living alone in this low-income area. We sampled a group from a black neighborhood in Washington Park whose incomes were below those of the transient hotel people. We found the black group had a much more positive attitude than the people living alone on a slender income. It seems to me that we should focus more attention, through senior centers and the like, on helping these people spend more time with others.

Now let's look at the fascinating question of mid-life transition. Dan Levinson, a psychiatrist at Yale and author of The Seasons of a Man's Life, has devoted 10 or 15 years of research identifying what he calls "mid-life transition". According to Levinson, men face three tasks in their mid-life transition:

1. Establishing a satisfactory career plan. By this time people ought to have shed many of their illusions, particularly regarding their career. People know by this point if they're going to become president of the corporation or stay at the middle level, or, if they're working-class men, whether they have reached the peak of their earning power. The career plan

may be to move onward and upward or remain at a plateau until retirement.

2. Establishing a stable set of social rules as worker, spouse, parent and citizen. At this critical transition period, Levinson says, one defines the kind of a citizen he or she will be, how much time will be spent serving on boards or being active in politics, and so on.
3. Achieving a realistic perception of one's personal strengths, weaknesses, and needs for the period of middle age. This really involves analyzing the rest of middle age from 55 through the next 15 to 20 years, understanding and accepting one's skills and weaknesses.

For his study, Levinson took four groups of eight men for his sample; two different social class groups of four different occupational groups. He selected men who were about 30 years of age to come into this study and be interviewed about twice a year for ten years. However, he did not have a random sample. He selected his volunteers by contacting companies in the New Haven area and they informed middle management people about the study. The only stipulation was that the volunteers stay with the project for ten years.

Gail Sheehy in her book Passages has done similar work on mid-life crises. It's a fascinating study, but Sheehy learned from Levinson and she went to people who agreed to be interviewed. Nearly all of them were middle-class people living in New York and were either journalists or actors. She uses the same general line, but not nearly as rigorous a scientific method as Levinson's. They start out as care givers, which means wives and mothers, and they stay wives and mothers throughout their lives. As a result, they have no transition problems except to stay with their roles. But an increasing number of women are reaching a mid-life transition, which comes a little earlier for women than for men. One transition is to make the necessary arrangements for a satisfactory work life. Women who have stayed home to rear a family may need some training in job skills and they will have to organize the work of child care and home maintenance for the family.

I hope Levinson will eventually get to the transition from middle-age to late adulthood; from about 55 to 65 or later. I think people in continuing education will begin to focus on those who are facing the transition

from middle age to senior age. It's more than just preparation for retirement. Some quite interesting programs are likely to emerge, aimed particularly at two groups. One would be middle-class men who must decide whether to retire or how to face mandatory retirement. The other group is women. We know that many women are going back into the labor force after the age of 55, not simply because they have to, but because it is better than staying home when the children are gone. The Community Trust has a grant to set up a network of learning opportunities, and they are very interested in what they call "life options for seniors."

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ADULT DEVELOPMENT AND LEARNING: IMPLICATIONS FOR HELPING ADULTS LEARN

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Practitioners who work with adults function in many types of work settings such as community colleges, public schools, universities or hospitals. Continuing education practitioners in these settings have a tendency to think about those more formal instances in which adults participate in a course, a workshop, or a program such as this conference. About one-quarter of all the adults in the United States each year do, in fact, participate in such formal kinds of activities. However, it is important to recognize that 90% or more of all adults in the United States participate each year in some sort of systematic learning activity on their own. More than a dozen studies in the United States and Canada during the last ten years have used in-depth interviews to describe those types of learning projects. Courses and workshops sponsored by employers, labor unions, churches, community agencies, hospitals, adult or professional organizations, as well as educational institutions, represent only about 10% of learning activity. The other 90% is self-directed.

Part of the reason for this enormous amount of adult learning activity is that increasingly rapid rates of social change tend to undermine the sense of security, stability, and community that many adults in past generations had. When they became adults, the work of growing and developing was finished. They had arrived, they had learned what they needed to learn, and now their life task was to apply what they had acquired. However accurate or inaccurate that concept was before, an overwhelming number of adults in the United States today recognize it as an inadequate conception of adulthood. They realize that a great deal of change occurs during the adult life cycle in relation to work, family, and community.

When concentrating on the extent of educational activities that many of you encounter where adults are the learners, we find the rates of participation tend to decline somewhat from young adulthood, to middle, to old age. Participation in sponsored continuing education activities tapers off, even though

there is a fairly high level of informal self-directed learning activity that occurs outside formal classes and workshops. This is readily explained. The effort to engage in educational programs, to prepare for a career, tends to be less important at 40 or 50 years of age than during the 20s and 30s for individuals. Furthermore, just the effort to get out and participate in the evening after a long day is less attractive.

Even more dramatic than the somewhat gentle decline with age in rates of part-time participation by adults in a formal educational activity, is the increase in the rates of participation in relation to level of formal education. Consistent findings from studies on this subject indicate that only about 8% of the adults with less than an 8th grade level of education will participate in some sort of systematic, purposeful educational activity during the year. The rate increases to about 24% for people who are high school graduates. With each additional level of formal education, the rates of participation go up: 36% for people who have a year or more of college, about 39% for college graduates, and roughly 47% to 60% for people with master's degrees, or about one out of every two.

This generalization about participation rates and educational level is important to keep in mind when making generalizations about adult development and applying them to adult learning. Even though continuing education helps to increase levels of educational attainment and competence for the entire adult population, the effect of voluntary programs of adult and continuing education has been to widen the gap between the "haves" and the "have nots". With each level of formal education - elementary school, high school, some college, college graduates, master's degree - you increase dramatically the rates of participation in adult education activity.

This trend is further compounded by the fact that people with higher levels of formal education are more likely to be involved in community activities and voluntary organizations. Such organizational involvement is similar to participation in many formal types of adult and continuing education activities. From such experience adults gain a certain savvy and expertise which makes it easier to adjust to adult education programs. Furthermore, one's sense of educational efficacy, of being able to perform well in educational situations, is heightened by successful experiences. The stereotype of what it means to

be involved in educational programs is a more positive one for most people with higher levels of formal education and a more negative stereotype for those with lower levels of education, which further compounds the problem.

Part of my concern is to suggest some of the ways in which, with greater insight into adult development and learning, you can plan and market learning experiences for adults so that you reach those who are under-served more effectively. This approach extends beyond educational activities and includes information-seeking generally. Studies on adult information-seeking include paying attention to the mass media (reading, watching television, listening to the radio) and talking to other people (friends and associates, or experts). Such studies indicate that with higher levels of formal education adults are far more likely to engage in information-seeking for instrumental purposes (to solve problems) through the use of media (reading, television) and through the use of experts (such as somebody who is not a member of your circle of friends whom you ask for specialized information). By contrast, a relatively high percentage of adults with low levels of formal education have a tendency to engage in instrumental information-seeking only from people they know and trust.

Furthermore, because adults with lower levels of education are less likely to participate in adult and continuing education programs, they are less likely to have within their circle of friends somebody who has recently participated in such programs. Word of mouth tends to be <u>the</u> fundamental method of marketing adult and continuing education courses: when you know a participant, you learn about a program and are encouraged to enroll.

As a practitioner, how do you get the message through to adults with less formal education? The "opinion-leader", as the sociologist has dealt with the concept, seems to suggest a particularly useful way. Katz and Logarsfeld, in their book <u>Personal Influence</u>, and other researchers in recent years, have described the opinion-leader as a person within an individual's network of family and acquaintances to whom the individual is most likely to turn for information on a given topic, such as fashion, politics, and job seeking. Most people have within their circle of friends one whom they perceive as being more knowledgeable, more interested in a given topic than most of the other people they know. When a health problem or a job problem arises, the tendency is to

turn to that person and ask for more information about the topic. The role of that opinion-leader seems to be of critical importance in providing new information. Opinion-leaders are more likely to be cosmopolitans, more likely to be interested in mass media and other sources of information, particularly about the topics of interest to other people in their circle of friends.

Another aspect of adult development is role performance. One type of role performance occurs in work situations. The occupational life cycle occurs developmentally, not only during adolescence and into the beginning of adulthood, but through most of adult life. It should be noted that occupational performance and satisfaction are more related to educational level than to age, although they are related to age as well. Occupational level and educational level tend to influence self-concept and prestige as well as level of living.

Young adults tend to excel in tasks that use speed, strength, memory, or production of novel solutions to problems, in contrast to older workers who tend to excel in tasks that use experience, steadiness, attendance, patience, and conscientiousness. By and large, concern for occupation and work tend to peak beyond the young adult period and decline in terms of relative importance sometime during middle and into old age. One clear exception is homemakers whose children are grown and who either enter or reenter the work force. They tend to have a very different career life cycle (as some people in recent years have been pointing out) than if they had not taken out time to bear and rear children. As many of you know, rates of participation in the labor force for mothers of young children have been increasing dramatically in the last decade. We will see fewer and fewer instances where women return to work after 15 or 20 years out of the labor force.

There are a number of ways in which people have tried to do something about facilitating the occupational life cycle. Examples include Cassell and Rodgers' concern for intermediaries, educational brokering for adults, and career counseling generally. Regarding educational brokering centers, a book on the subject by Macy, Vickers, and Heffernan describes a way to gather information about educational and occupational opportunities, and help people make choices.

Practitioners who work with adults can foster occupational adaptation in a number of ways. One of them is to help adults understand the multiple motives for working. Many times the area of work is monolithic in people's minds. Practitioners can help adults recognize that the importance of work and the benefits associated with it vary according to the individual. What's important to one person may be less so to somebody else. We need to help people understand some of the causes

underlying satisfactory and unsatisfactory job performance, causes that relate to the individual and those that relate to the work situation and one's expectations there. Practitioners can help adults locate relevant opportunities to increase occupational satisfaction and competence, and consider their personal talents and priorities when making career decisions.

The societal context influences performance. So do internal characteristics such as physical condition, personality, and learning activity. Role performance reflects both internal influences and external influences such as expectations, opportunity systems, and problems that exist in the societal context. Changes in role performance and proficiency occur as part of that transaction.

As an example of a concern for societal attitudes, many people believe that age negatively affects performance. Geographic mobility tends to insulate the younger generation from the older generation, which contributes to younger people's misperceptions about those at the other end of the life cycle. For example, middle-aged adults tend to misperceive adolescents as more autonomy oriented than they are; and young and middle-aged adults tend to misperceive older adults as less autonomy oriented than they are. These misperceptions tend to be compounded when unrealistic, negative attitudes toward an older adult by a young adult adversely affect the self-image of young adults as they become middle-aged and old themselves. If you start off with the sense that old age is awful and represents a dependent status, that there are no satisfactions to come from it, and then you realize you're becoming that person, you reap some of the negative effects of that stereotype.

Multi-generational programs provide a way of exposing people to those who are different from themselves through first-hand contact. There are some alumni programs that encourage people to come back to their school for a week in the summertime and bring along other members of their family (children,parents). Some educational institutions have invited retired professors to meet with undergraduate students, not to talk about their speciality, but to talk about the era in which the retired professor was growing up and was in college, and to share as living history what it meant on a personal level. That not only brings the era alive but many older adults find it useful to reminisce about their earlier experiences and the meaning those experiences have for them at their present age.

Turning again from the societal expectations and stereotypes to more personal characteristics, practitioners need to understand a number of important adult personality characteristics. Clearly, personality development occurs throughout life. The notion that personality is set by 10, 15, 18, or 22 years of age is no longer

supportable regardless of early assumptions from the field of psychology. The change that occurs from 20 to 50 years of age is substantial, about as much as occurs between 9 and 19 years of age. The impetus for change may come from the individual or from society; constructive change is more likely when it's facilitated by both personal striving and societal encouragement. Given some of the personality changes that occur, what can practitioners do about these changes during adulthood?

Practitioners can help adults understand the great variability in personality patterns. There is a tendency for people to concentrate on their own sense of personality functioning (dealing with feelings, decisions, and stress in their personal relationships) and about the personality characteristics of a few of the people who are dominant in their lives. They are not as aware of the great variability among people and the fact that individuals can work out highly satisfactory ways of functioning that are very different. Recognition of this variability provides a helpful perspective for many adults.

Adults who appreciate the extent of personality development that does occur during adulthood tend to be optimistic about the potential for their own change. As suggested before, such a perspective helps people to resist false stereotypes regarding age-related personality characteristics. In addition, adults can be helped to recognize how other people influence their development, but to avoid over-dependence on other people as a way of setting goals and styles of functioning. They can alternate between depending self-understanding and broadening experience through friendship and contact with other people. In short, adults can be helped to increase their understanding of their past, deal more effectively with their present, and plan for their future.

One aspect of personality is self-concept. A positive self-concept reflects high self-esteem and confidence, and an adult with a very positive sense of self is typically more effective in occupational performance and more self-actualizing than an adult with a negative self-concept. In terms of developmental trends, as a person goes from adolescence through middle age, his or her self-concept tends to become increasingly more positive. Furthermore, self-concept and performance interact. For example, in old age there's a tendency for people's ceiling capacity, their maxiumum capacity to perform, to decline gradually. However, there are few instances in which adult performance must change substantially as a result of that decline; in practice, most people operate so far below their ceiling that a slight decline has no practical effect on what they do.

What happens is that the perceived decline in that ceiling capacity causes some older adults to change their self-concept, to become "somebody who can no longer do that sort of thing." The "angina invalid" is an example of somebody who has a little discomfort related to angina, to the functioning of the heart, and who dramatically changes his or her activity pattern in exactly the wrong way, to less activity.

Another example of personality change relates to the dreams many young people have as adolescents about whom they will be. Such dreams tend to sustain many adults during several years of formal education, work, and family life. There's some sense of what they want to become, of what they want to do with their lives. From the vantage point of 15 or 16 years of age, their sense of when they will achieve the dream tends to be about the age their parents are when the youngsters developed the dream. When they themselves reach that age, they suddenly realize that the future they were sacrificing and working for has arrived and they around and conclude "I haven't made it and as I look at where the people who have made it were when they were my age, I'm not likely to make it." People who have this experience must deal with the feeling of "what do I do now that I realize the dream is not going to come to fruition," and with the adjustments that tend to occur at that point.

There are a number of contributions that practitioners can make under such circumstances. They can help people gain some perspective (1) on the types of adjustments the individual faces; (2) on the proportion of people who do achieve those early dreams; and (3) on the adjustments that can be made. Sometimes the problems that result from achieving one's dreams can be as devastating as the recognition that you're never going to do so .

Self-direction, our executive function, is another aspect of personality. Adults vary greatly in the extent of their self-directedness. Although being self-directed rather than dependent is part of the concept of maturing adulthood, some adults are concerned about being too reactive as they make decisions in family, work, and education. Self-directedness entails not only assertiveness, but a sense of purpose; not only a willingness to try to accomplish something, but to have some sense of what you want to accomplish. Practitioners can help adults regarding self-directedness in a number of ways: values clarification and priority-setting are helpful. Just the sense that you can deal with change (sometimes initiated and sometimes forced upon you) in positive and growth-oriented ways is a help. This sense can be fostered in part by helping adults to place their apprehensions about the unknown in perspective and to focus on some of their

own past experiences as a way of recognizing that change need not be a negative experience. Some of the research on the impact of change (positive or negative) on people's lives indicates that many individuals have a difficult time dealing with more than a certain amount of change in a given period of their lives. This research undergirds the desirability of helping adults maintain stability in other aspects of their lives when making a major change. You can tolerate only so many things in flux at one time.

Research findings about the impact of college on students and the ways in which college influences the values of full-time students illustrate the importance of the match between who you want to become and what a particular environment tends to encourage. The same notion between aspirations and encouragement also applies to older people retiring. Whether it's desirable to continue to live by themselves in their own household, or move in with their offspring, or move to another part of the country where it's warmer depends on what older people want in terms of a life style and, to a degree, what they want to become.

Personality is a developmental aspect of both performance and the change events that occur in people's lives. Adult life tends to be relatively stable in some respects. Personality, habit, inertia, the consistent expectations of other people, and current commitments contribute to a high degree of stability month in and month out. But over a period of five or ten years, a substantial amount of growth and change occurs among adults. The paradox is how do you explain that if adults are stable and consistent over the months, they change over the years? At least one part of that explanation reflects what happens around major role change events during the lives of adults. Change events occur in relation to the family life cycle (getting married or getting divorced, having children or having children grow up and leave), or the occupational life cycle (taking on different types of jobs, moving from one job to another), or in terms of general community life cycle (getting involved in community groups and activities, recreational activities, moving to a new community, or taking on a leadership position for a community organization). In each of these instances there is an inescapable change. People either have some role relationship withdrawn from them or added to what they're already doing. During these periods of flux there's a tendency to reassess, to make adjustments in a relatively short period of time, not only in what you do but how you feel about what you do, and how you feel about yourself. This process affects aspirations and optimism.

The change may be positive or negative as the individual views it, but at such times people are more susceptible to change than during periods of stability. Such changes are typically associated with a heightened readiness to learn and people tend to engage in information-seeking at a much higher level around the salient issues of the change. For example, many of you are familiar with what happens in late adolescence and young adulthood to a woman who discovers that she is pregnant for the first time. The amount of information-seeking (talking with other people who have had a baby, concern about child care, reading baby magazines) is enormous for a relatively short period of time. A few years earlier she could have cared less; a few years later she's again uninterested . Similar increases in information-seeking occur in relation to other changes such as changing jobs or buying a car.

If adults engage in such information-seeking around change events, what implications does that have for your roles as practitioners? Having some sense of this developmental process means you are in a position to encourage adults not to panic or assume that there's an easy or quick solution. You can suggest that they approach the change event as an opportunity for growth. In Chinese characters the symbol for crisis is composed of two characters, one refers to danger and one refers to opportunity. It is possible to look at many crisis situations not simply as a danger and a problem, but also as an opportunity.

You can also help adults accept the fact that some of the loneliness often accompanying major change events, particularly a loss event, can be viewed as a time to reflect on values and desirable new directions. You can help adults who are going through some sort of a change event to gain access to opportunities and resources to broaden their perspective on alternatives and processes of change. Finally, you can use recent or anticipated role changes among adults that you seek to serve as examples for marketing programs and instruction.

One of the tasks that many practitioners have is to get the message out to the adults they would like to attract. A typical approach is to describe what a given program is all about. Sometimes the newspapers and television aren't much interested in a summary and a few dry statistics about your program content. However you can enhance your marketing efforts by using two or three case examples of adults who saw the connection between your educational program and some of the adjustments they were trying to make. Furthermore, within the context of the educational program itself, it's possible to use such examples to show how the program's major concepts can be applied to the problems or concerns of adults in the

course.

A major concern for practitioners is the learning process for those adults who are enrolled in an educational program. As has been demonstrated by dozens of longitudinal and cross-sectional studies during the past 40 years, almost every adult is able to learn almost any subject matter given sufficient time and attention. Adults do vary in learning ability but, for the individual adult, learning ability tends to be relatively stable during most of adulthood. There are some shifts in the types of learning tasks that become easier or more difficult with age. However, the ceiling capacity to learn tends to be relatively stable from young adulthood, through middle age, to the onset of old age, until physical problems (such as poor circulation to the brain, reduced oxygen supply and resultant poor memory) begin to interfere.

One of the ways that practitioners can help adults attain some realistic estimate of their learning ability is to provide them with opportunities to emphasize the learning ability that they do have and to sidestep, if needs be, some of the tasks that play into their disabilities. Have them draw from experience, from some of the strategies that they have developed over the years. Allow them, in short, to substitute wisdom for brilliance.

Adults also learn more effectively when they proceed at their own pace. There is a tendency with age for adults to become more cautious in learning tasks. Also, because they accumulate more experience and information, some of which can interfere with learning tasks, older adults tend to engage in a wider search to try to remember something. When there's only one relevant concept that you've learned at 15 years of age, it is fairly easy to remember it when presented with the opportunity. But when you can think of five or ten instances, you take more time to sort them out and recall the one that seems to be most relevant. Under those circumstances, practitioners can be particularly helpful be setting up situations where adults can pace themselves. If concepts or procedures are especially important to understand, give them time to comprehend them but also try to make the encounter as memorable as possible to fix the concepts in their minds, and minimize some of the distracting information that can get in the way of older adults' problem-solving efforts.

Effective adult learning is an active search for meaning and adults tend to vary somewhat in their preference for learning style and instructional methods. In a study a number of years ago by Dick Hill of UCLA, people were presented with two very different learning formats. In one of them an authority came in and

presented information, and people asked questions and gained clarification of the material. There were some adults who clearly preferred that procedure. Then the same content was organized in a study-discussion format where people were presented with information but could read and listen to recordings and gain the information in a variety of ways. They used their valuable class time together to explore the meaning and implications of those ideas. There were some adults who clearly preferred this inquiry approach where nobody started off with the notion that "these are the objectives that have to be covered." The assumption was that the adults had some questions they wanted to pursue and some quandaries they wanted to have clarified. The learning experience was a vehicle for doing so, and even though they came out with some idiosyncratic understanding, that was perfectly all right.

Hill found that people who were allowed to enroll in either format learned equally well. They learned a good deal more when they were given the opportunity to be in the format they preferred. When people were assigned the opposite format, attrition was greater and learning was lower to some degree. The implications of Hill's study, it seems to me, are reasonably straightforward. When you have the option of multiple sections of courses, when you have large workshops of a hundred or more people, why not organize those sub-groups in different ways? You can give people organized information presented by an expert if that is what they want, and allow people who want the exact opposite(to explore questions and engage more actively in discussion and so on) to do so. There is no reason why that is not possible.

Furthermore, adults involved in the first session or two in some sort of educational activity are concerned not only with covering content and achieving objectives, but also with their own adjustment in that situation. That first session of a workshop or a course is critically important if you're trying to retain and encourage some of the more timid people to persist. People differ in how they react to a difficult task. If you think you can do it, it's a challenge; if you think you can't, it's a threat. Much depends on your self-confidence.

The first class session ought to accomplish at least two purposes. First, something ought to occur that relates to what people are looking for in the course. Second, people should feel welcome; they ought to understand that the other students want them to be there and are interested in them. It's similar to your role as a host or hostess when someone comes to your home. They want to feel welcome, and also that something interesting is going to occur. Both of these qualities are important.

qualities are important.

Another issue regarding adult learning has to do with the types of concerns that adults have. Usually teachers think of an educational experience as a way of covering content; an instructor decides, "These topics are important to cover." However, that is only one part of the experience. The other part has to do with how participants are likely to use that information, their concern for the action, problems, and decisions that they confront in work, family, or community. I'm convinced that few adults ever learn, remember or use any answers for which they do not already have the question. Sometimes teachers make the assumption that participants come with a question, that they know what they want to do with the information the teacher provides. That may well be the case in some instances, but not in others. One of the critical tasks in trying to help adults learn is to find out what questions the participants have, why they're there, and what they want to do with the information. It may not be the same application that you have in mind, it may not be the most important one; but part of the task of the educational experience is not only to answer the questions that adults bring with them, but to help them discover new and perhaps more important or provocative questions that they could be asking and pursuing.

Furthermore, it is important to build into the educational experience some opportunity for adult learners to alternate between the action problems that concern them and the knowledge resources you can offer. You can provide opportunities for role playing, simulation, or discussion or to help them relate knowledge and action. Perhaps this is the core of adult and continuing education -- to help adults enrich their strategies for alternating between action problems and knowledge resources. This is truly helping adults to learn.

THE ADULT AS WORKER

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THE LABOR MARKET AND LIFE CYCLE NEEDS

Frank H. Cassell
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Before getting into my slide presentation, I want to lay some groundwork for viewing changes in the labor market over an individual's life cycle, hopefully to get some perspective on what this may mean to different segments of the population.

Those of us who were around in the 1960s recall that our concern was awakened for people who had been left out of the system -- people who had not made it in their jobs, or even had a chance to get into jobs -- or had been rejected by the system. The '60s spawned such projects as the Head Start Program, the Concentration on Youth with neighborhood youth programs and the Job Corps. We concentrated on people who had been left behind in pockets of poverty, the disadvantaged, the people who had been discriminated against. At that time, we were only dimly aware of the fact that the Civil Rights Act contained a blockbuster, extending equal employment opportunities to women. But essentially the focus in the '60s was on youth. The '70s have seen a greater interest in older persons. This trend has occurred partly because of changed demographics including greater longevity and declining birth rates, and partly because of the worldwide slowdown of economic growth accompanied by a slowdown in the creation of jobs.

The point I want to make is that a lot of what we do as professionals is related to this scarcity of jobs -- but scarcity in a new sense. A rising aspirational level among people has resulted in a lack of "good jobs." What is a good job? To some people it means good pay, to some others steady work, and to still others opportunity for achievement. And there's another notion emerging, namely, that an economy should be run so that everyone has an opportunity to work in what they consider a good job. This new development can be labeled -- the right to a job. It is one of the intellectual trends both here and abroad.

Some people think of a job in terms of evolving or changing life,

giving meaning and continuity to one's life. Many years ago I heard a famous gerontologist, Wilma Donahue, now in her 80s, comment about the meaning of work in people's lives. She was developing the notion that work, properly construed, leads from one stage in life to another, and that each stage prepares us for future stages. She was trying to show what type of people survive best in retirement -- or in later life. Her point was a kind of Gertrude Steinism; namely, people who continue to learn, continue to learn, continue to learn. And those who stop learning, stop learning, stop learning. At about the time she was making these statements, I was working on a project here in the State of Illinois, studying unemployment. We interviewed some 276,000 people unemployed at the time. One of the chief characteristics of mature (over 21) unemployed persons was that they had stopped learning almost the instant they had left school, whether it was 4th grade, 8th grade, or 12th grade.

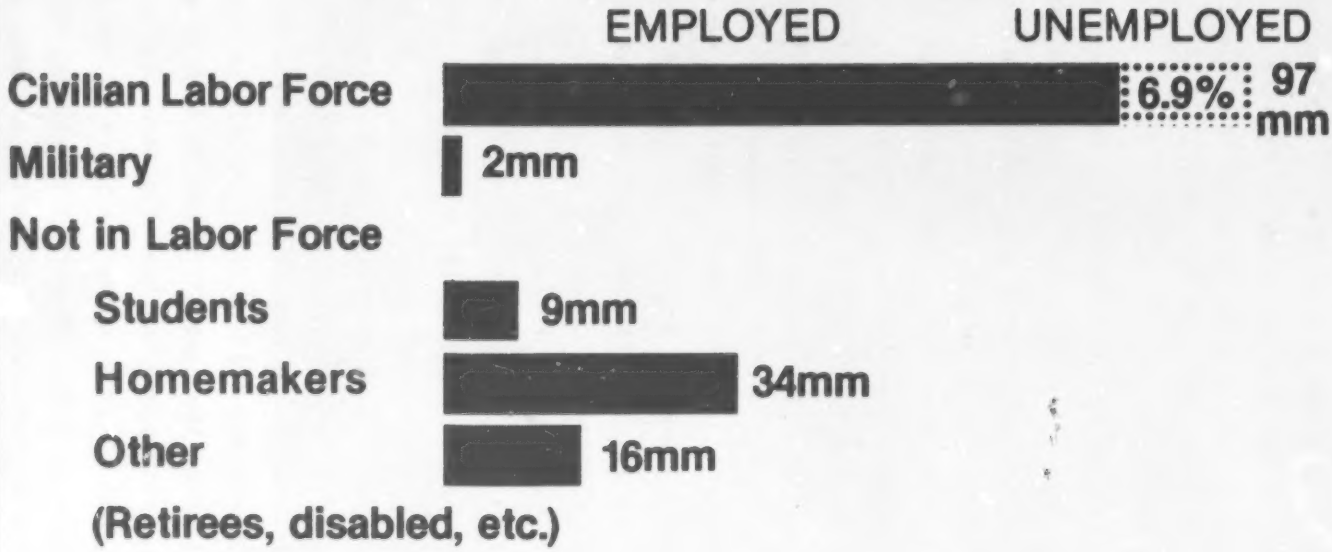
In the following discussion, I will try to lay some groundwork in the field of labor market theory followed by a behavioral overlay.

The market is divided into two sides -- supply and demand. The mediating influence between them is essentially price. Somewhere between supply and demand something has to happen to get people to jobs and jobs to people. In the days of Adam Smith, it was thought that price alone would make the system work. Now we've come to understand that a great many barriers exist in the labor market preventing the free movement of people. As a result, there is a need for people like ourselves, or intermediaries.

I'd like to give you a quick overview of the labor force as shown in Figure 1. We have a civilian work force now of 97 million "others." Included in the "others" are what we call the discouraged workers. This is a hard concept to measure, but it conveys the idea that people spend a lot of time looking for work, get discouraged, and quit looking. Also included in this "other" figure are about 1½ to 2 million people 14 to 16 years of age who work in temporary or part-time jobs.

One in 12 workers today is nonwhite. The white labor force is some 85 million, the black, Hispanic and others some 11 million. The unemployment rate of the black, Hispanic, and others is nearly double, and at certain periods is double, the unemployment rate of the whites. In addition, whites have a labor force participation rate for all ages of 62.5%, while

Nearly 160 million people over age 16 are available for work.



SOURCE: *BLS, EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS,* JUNE 1977.

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black and Hispanic the rate is about 59.0%. "Participation" means actively looking for work or at work. Figure 2 shows employment by occupation for white, black, and Spanish workers. As these data point out, there are still few black and Spanish people in upper level jobs, while they continue to dominate the lower level jobs such as nonfarm labor, operative and maintenance work and so forth.

Today two out of every five American workers are women. Women are entering the work force at an extraordinarily rapid rate. The employment base includes not only professional women, but also women who work in factories for considerably lower pay. Women also are entering industries, frequently as a reserve labor force, and engaging in intermittent employment.

Over a 17 year period we have observed an interesting phenemenon, namely, that the participation rates of women and men are moving in opposite directions. Why these diverging trends? One reason is that more men are retiring early. We conducted two telephone surveys of managers in large corporations to learn about their retirement rates. We discovered two trends common to industry, especially heavy industry such as automobiles and steel. First, the net advantage of retiring has increased substantially in recent years. When you compare some of the negative aspects of work to the advantages of not having to work every day and of enjoying a relatively lucrative pension, there is no incentive to stay on the job. In the last ten years men are retiring earlier and earlier from those industries that can provide good pensions.

The second trend is that each successive cohort of women for the last 50 years has increased their labor force participation rates as they reached working age. In 1940, the labor force participation rate for women under 25 was about 15 to 16%. In 1970 it was close to 45%. Normally, women between the ages of 25 and 34 took substantial time out to have children. This curve has been flattened out so that increasing numbers of women with children under two years of age or even under one year of age continue to work. This is a relatively new trend. Of course, these forecasts can be jeopardized by social and psychological factors such as the changing role of women in society, the work aspirations of women, the willingness to use child care facilities, and the choice to forego child bearing.

TABLE 6. LABOR FORCE STATUS OF WHITES, BLACKS, AND PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN, BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, ANNUAL AVERAGES, 1977

[Numbers in thousands for persons aged 16 years and over; percent distribution]

Labor force and occupational status	White	Black [1]	Hispanic origin [2]
Civilian noninstitutional population	137,595	16,314	7,156
Civilian labor force	86,107	9,737	4,391
Employed: Number	80,734	8,384	3,953
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar workers	51.7	32.5	31.8
Professional and technical	15.5	10.1	7.5
Managers and administrators, except farm	11.4	4.1	5.7
Sales workers	6.8	2.4	3.7
Clerical workers	18.0	15.9	15.0
Blue-collar workers	32.9	39.4	46.6
Craft and kindred workers	13.6	9.1	13.8
Operatives, except transport	11.0	15.6	21.1
Transport equipment operatives	3.7	5.8	4.1
Nonfarm laborers	4.6	9.0	7.7
Service workers	12.3	26.0	17.1
Farmworkers	3.2	2.2	4.5
Unemployed	5,373	1,355	438
Unemployment rate	6.2	13.9	10.0
Not in labor force	51,488	6,576	2,765

[1] Data relate to black workers only.

[2] Data on persons of Hispanic origin are tabulated separately, without regard to race, which means that they are also included in the data for white and black workers. According to the 1970 census, 96 percent of the Hispanic population is white.

NOTE: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

FIGURE II

From Employment and Training Report of the President, 1978

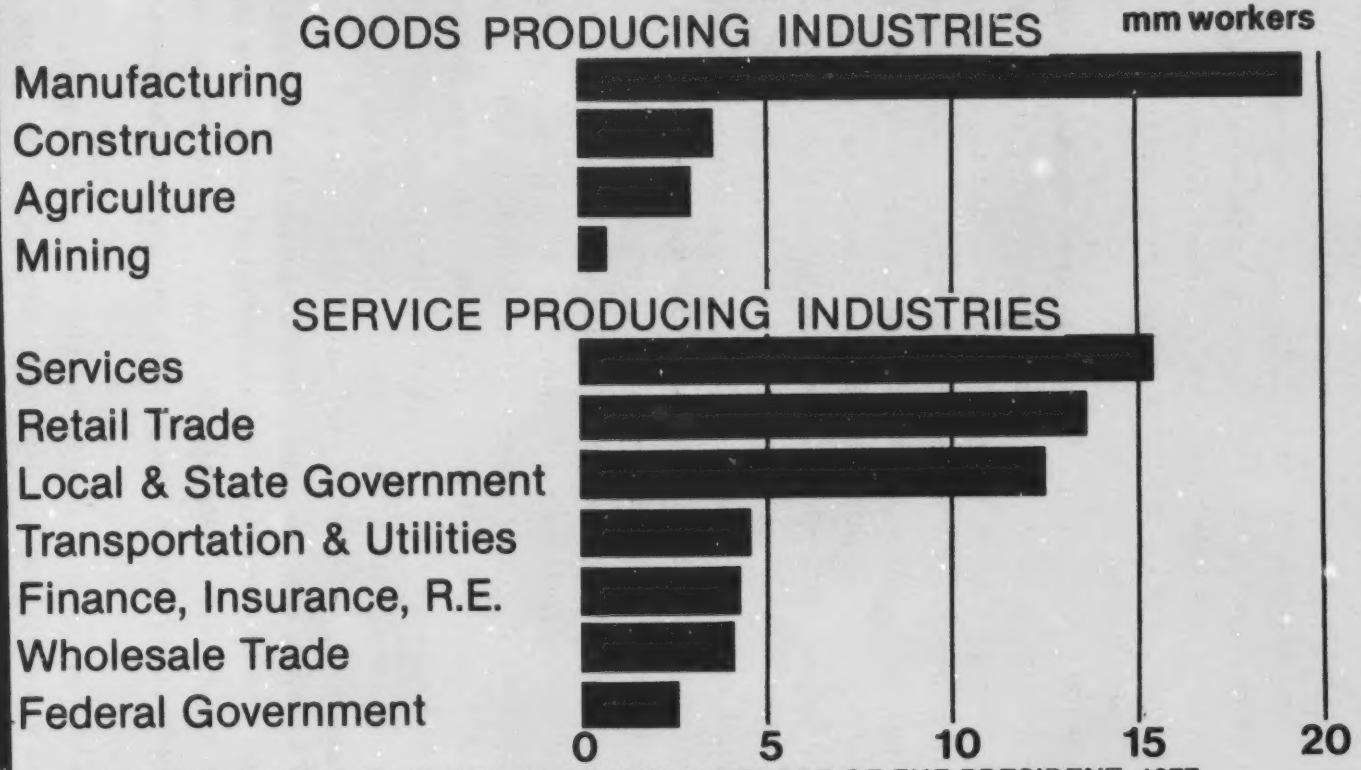
Minority unemployment is higher than whites for all age groups. The 16 to 19 age group has an extraordinary unemployment rate of 36.5%. This figure can be increased substantially by concentrating on segments of cities and areas where rates will run 40% or more. We have census tracks and wards in Chicago where the unemployment rate is well over 50% for 16 to 19-year-old blacks, Hispanics and others. We have a much lower rate for the 20 to 24 age level, lower still for 25 to 34, and the lowest rate of all for 35 to 44. This trend -- which is consistent over time -- is what some people have called a "maturation factor." No matter how bad conditions are, most people as they grow older get experience and some training, and get into the labor force. As a result, the unemployment rate for both whites and blacks drops with age.

The decline in unemployment among older workers, while a reflection of the maturation factor, also indicates something else. As workers reach age 45 or older, many withdraw from the labor force; they become discouraged, and drop out. They are not counted as being either unemployed or employed.

Now we want to move to the demand side of the picture. In the 1960s most of our efforts were focused on the supply side of the labor market. We were attempting to alter the characteristics of the people in the market to make them employable. We did make some attempt, feeble as it was, to alter the characteristics of the employer. We know a good deal about that in industry, because if you have solid bargaining power you're going to get the environment changed to suit you. But if you happen to be a common laborer, one of a million or more unemployed, nobody is going to alter conditions to make you happy. So, the supply side is what the schools work on, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act works on, and government programs tend to work on. The demand side frequently goes begging. I want to pay some attention to this side of the market.

Let's look at where the jobs are today, as shown in Figure 3. Manufacturing, still employs almost 20 million people; construction, agriculture, mining people. Then we have an entirely new area called the service-producing industries which include retail trade, local and state government, transportation, finance, wholesale trade, federal government, and personal services in general, for example, television repair, domestic services, gardening services, and so on. The service sector has been developing steadily since at least the turn of the century. Seventy-one percent or

Where are the jobs?



SOURCE: EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, 1977.

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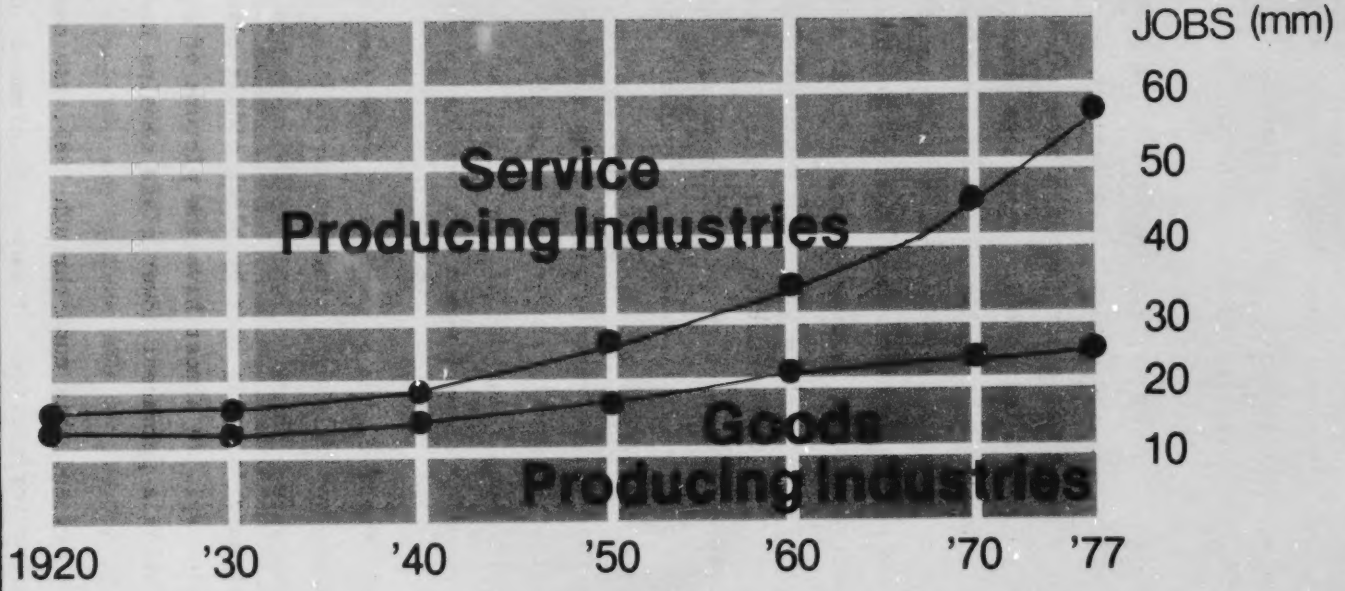
more of the women in the labor force work in the service-producing industries. Fifty-nine percent of the people over 65 and 59% of the part-timers are employed in some service industry. Oddly enough, 68% of the people with 12 or more years of schooling work in the service industries while only 37% of those with less than nine years of schooling have a service-related job. The service sector provides an unusual opportunity for females, part-timers, and older people.

Two other observations should be made about service industries. First, the average service organization is relatively small, employing only about 20 people. Some behavioral scientists suggest that this is one of the ways we can begin to reverse alienation, by having people work in areas that are more compatible with a slower more interesting lifestyle. Second, service industries in general are much more mobile than the basic manufacturing industry. It's difficult to move a steel mill because the mill requires a great deal of water; you have to have it next to a river or a lake. A small service company such as an insurance firm can move anywhere, with communications as it is. The owner can leave the city, go to the suburbs, or settle in the country and avoid big city problems.

Figure 4 shows there are over 60 million jobs in the service industries sector while goods-producing sector has over 20 million. In the nineteenth century we shifted from agriculture to manufacturing. In the twentieth century we have experienced a shift from manufacturing to services. This trend is changing our way of life and altering the characteristics of the work we do, and our opportunities for work. For example, farm labor in 1900 accounted for nearly 20% of the work force. Currently, it represents only 1.5%. In 1900 unskilled labor as a whole was about 14% of the work force, today it's 4%. Professional and technical occupations show just the reverse trend: 4% in 1900 and 14% today. I think these figures clearly illustrate what a tremendous change there has been in the characteristics of the work.

The goods and services industries also tell us something about the affluence of a society and its level of technology. For a long time our rate of productivity in the United States reflected our growth in technology. A good part of that growth reflected a reduction in farm labor and the substitution of capital for labor. Now, what the growth in services suggests a reversal of that trend -- substituting labor for capital. The

Dominance of services reflects a long-term trend.



SOURCE: *BLS, EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS*, JUNE 1977.

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United States employs a larger percentage of the work force in the services in the service sector than any other country. Israel has the next largest percentage -- Israel's economy looks more like ours than any other nation in the world. For example, Egypt's services sector represents about one-third of the work force, while agriculture accounts for 50%, and manufacturing only about 16%.

The percentage of women workers in the service industries varies widely by occupation. A good deal of this variation is due to lag; women are still being educated for "women's occupations." As shown in Figure 5, I ranked the fields in which women are employed from "most employment" to "least employment." I started out with educational services, where the total number of women employed is 62% and dropped down to services in general where women are 55% of the work force. In finance and insurance they are 52%, and so on. It is interesting that at the managerial level in education, women representing only 2.6% of the management group while men account for 9.2%. This situation also exists in public administration: 38% of the workers are women, with only 6% in managerial positions, compared with 12% of the men. The fact remains that systemic problems in internal labor markets slow the upward movement of women in an organization. By systemic I mean that unless women enter an organization at a high level, they have to follow the usual, slower career path. As a result, women are likely to encounter such rules as last in, first out; seniority rights; and so on, all of which prevent women from moving up rapidly in the organization.

As one would suppose, the percentage of nonwhites in the goods and services industries varies, suggesting substantial lag as well as considerable opportunity for people. We're not able to show at this point the chart that substantial inroads being made by black middle-class men and women into business and industry. We almost have the picture of an affluent middle class growing while a permanent lower class remains unable to progress up the ladder at all.

For the future, and this runs through 1985, you can see that the fastest growth is projected for services, finance, government, and trade. Educators are well aware that these kinds of occupations require at least two or three important skills. First is the ability to read and write, second the ability to deal with abstractions to some extent, and third the capacity to deal

FIGURE V

Occupation Group, Employed Wage and Salary Workers*

	Women as % of Total Employment (1973)	Percentage in Each Occupational Group: Clerical	Managerial
Educational Services	62	22.7 (5.2)**	2.6 (9.2)
Services	55	28.0 (6.0)	2.5 (9.6)
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	52	79.7 (19.6)	6.2 (26.1)
Retail Trade	46	29.2 (6.8)	4.8 (17.0)
Manufacturing, (Non-durable Goods)	39	22.5 (6.8)	1.0 (7.8)
Public Administration	38	72.6 (25.3)	6.3 (12.5)
Wholesale Trade	23	67.0 (10.0)	4.1 (16.9)
Transportation and Public Utilities	21	74.6 (11.0)	3.2 (8.1)
Manufacturing (Durable Goods)	21	33.7 (6.4)	1.1 (5.8)
Mining and Construction	6	72.1 (2.8)	3.4 (7.2)

*Source: Census of Population 1970: Occupation by Industry, Report (PC(2)7C). (Bureau of the Census)

**( ) = male

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with people. Many of us would have considerable difficulty facing the public day in and day out. I often think of the skill it takes to be a good waiter or waitress in a restaurant -- probably one of the world's most difficult tasks. Not only is it hard work, but the human relations aspect is incredibly difficult to manage, and a good part of the services sector is concerned with interpersonal relations. Therefore, what we're teaching now and what we have to consider in terms of preparing people for the future involves not merely mechanical skills but skills in human relations.

Another dimension of the labor market not shown on any chart is the uneven growth rate in employment in various geographical areas. If you are going to be doing job counseling, you need to keep three trends in mind. First there is not only a slowdown in growth but, in some cities, a negative growth in all of these occupations. In other words, some major cities like Chicago, are losing population and losing jobs. Second, the almost explosive growth in suburban employment experienced in the '60s has slowed down so much that within the next five to ten years we will see almost zero growth in suburban jobs.

The third trend is something we're beginning to call "re-ruralization" or the movement of jobs and people outside the metropolitan areas into counties that are essentially rural. The trend is taking place in the South and the North, promoted by interests such as retirement industries, education industries, the centralization of small plants, and the growth of the recreation industry. For example, in Escanaba, Michigan, the most important building in town is the one for retirees, a ten-story structure, the city's only "high rise." Property values in Escanaba, Michigan, have gone up five times in three years. The reason? Very simple -- two views on the retirement industry. First, people considered Florida too crowded; and second, they felt the Michigan area was the only place they could afford to live on social security. Many years ago Bob Nathan and I did a study of the upper peninsula economy. We found seven or eight counties around Marquette, Michigan, Ishpeming, Michigan, and so forth so economically depressed we couldn't figure out how to undepress them. The places are now booming. Why? A growing population of retired persons has given the local economies a boost.

We need to watch these trends carefully because employment is shifting

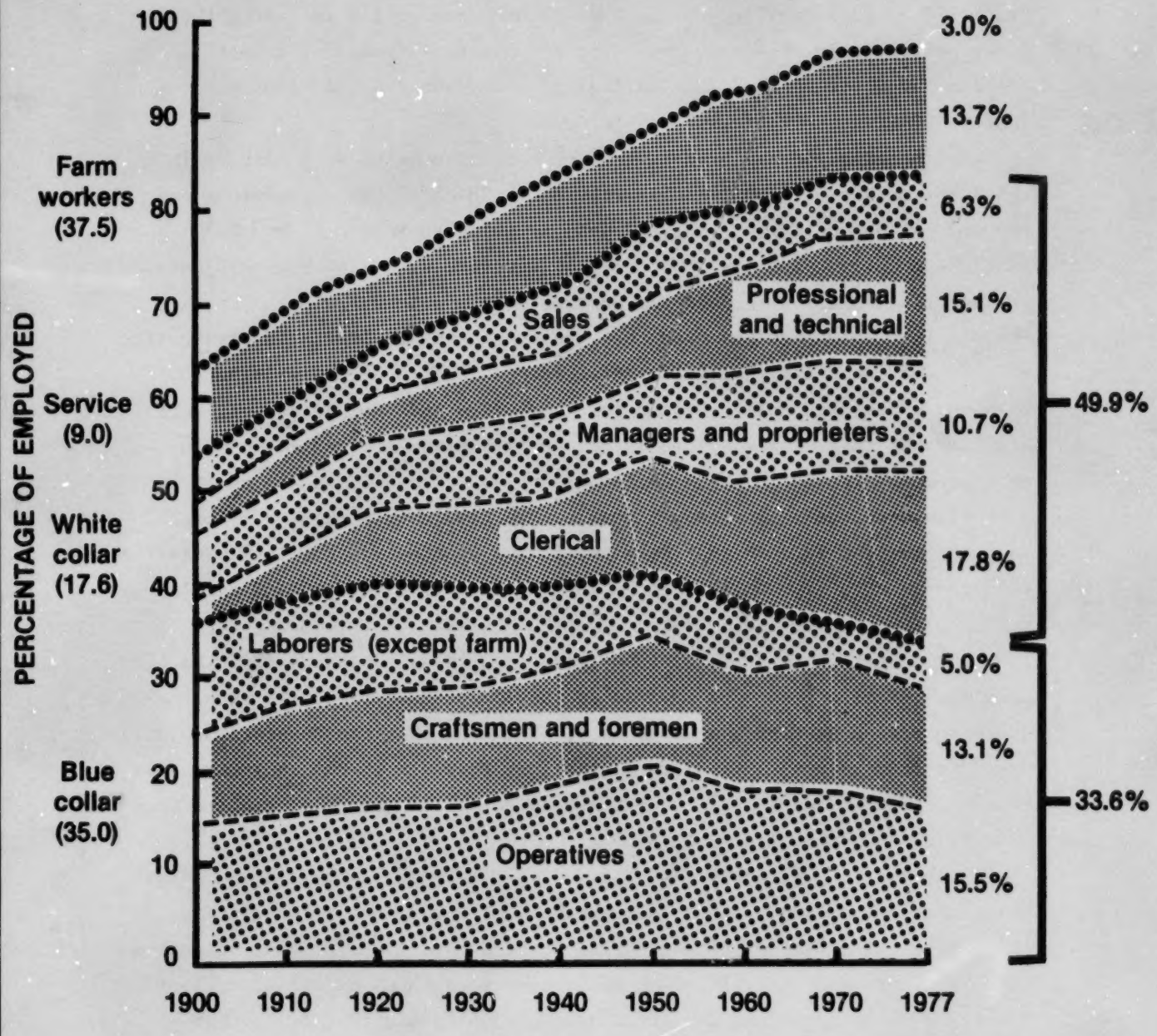
rapidly in this country. The fastest growing employment opportunities in the retirement area are not in the Sunbelt, but in the Rocky Mountains. For example, in the South the employment growth rate from 1960 to 1970 was 4% annualiy. In the remainder of the country the rate was only 1.1%. From 1970 to 1977 the South picked up 434,000 jobs -- I'm including the Rocky Mountains in those figures, that's a poetic license. The northeastern part of the United States lost 393,000 jobs and the Midwest lost 185,000.

Let me give you one other set of numbers associated with changes in the labor market, illustrated in Figure 6. Which of the occupations are growing; which declining? A great deal is going to depend on how we handle our energy problems. Within the framework of a slower growth rate we find that white-collar occupations are going to increase much less rapidly in the 70s and 80s than they did in the '60s. Growth in blue-collar will be cut practically in half. Professional and technical will be cut by about a fourth. Believe it or not, executive and managerial positions are forecast to increase. This is because the size of organizations in this country are growing at unbelievable rate, especially in the public sector, and we don't have enough managers to handle this growth. Clerical is going to drop by a third. Sales will rise by a half. Service industries will continue to grow while farm employment and unskilled or semi-skilled jobs will continue to decline.

If we were to generalized from these figures we could say that the people who really need jobs down at the bottom of the scale will have the least chance of getting what they need. The jobs they can do are disappearing, and they're not equipped to do the jobs that are on the increase. Nor have we designed our system to enable them to do the jobs that require more education and specialized skills.

I indicated previously that the mediator between supply and demand was price, but price involves much more than simply how many dollars we pay for the job. It includes wages and hours, working conditions, tools, travel, and so forth. Price determines the relative attractiveness of different jobs. I would like to introduce an interesting concept here; that is, both the employer and the employee somehow calculate net advantage of a job. Each one tries to gain the greatest advantage for himself or herself. But individual employees cannot determine this advantage if they don't have enough

OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1977



For 1900-1950, data are for persons fourteen years and over; for 1960 on, for persons sixteen years and over.

information. They need to know not only about wages, hours and working conditions, but more important what the internal labor market looks like. What are the rules, how does one get to be promoted, what are the bosses like, how does one find such information, what are the values of the organization? Is it an organization with opportunity? Are the rules and customs so stringent that one can't move on merit and so on? Helping people understand the internal market is one of the critical tasks of the intermediary.

Price also affects the process of matching people with jobs. For every group, whether it's middle-aged persons, young persons, old persons, women or men, black or white, individuals and employers to try to make the market work more efficiently. This means opening up opportunities and enabling people to move freely across boundary lines. It means eliminating artificial restrictions. From a national standpoint, it means the fullest use of the work force, which will be reflected in the nation's prosperity. So for every individual there's a net advantage calculation to a job. It works beautifully if we don't have a lot of artificial barriers and if the economy grows fast enough to absorb new workers and not leave too many on the outside.

To conclude we have the picture of a complex and rapidly changing labor market. As intermediaries, we can help people cope with uncertainty, manage their way from one condition in life to another, and, hopefully, find the kind of fulfillment they'd like in their jobs.

Harold L. Sheppard, American Institute for Research, formerly with Upjohn Institute; former Assistant Administrator for Economic Development Administration in U. S. Department of Commerce; Staff Director of the Senate Special Committee on Aging (1959-1961).
Publication: The Graying of Working America, Free Press, Macmillan.

THE MIDDLE-AGED WORKER

Dr. Harold L. Sheppard
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Washington, D.C.

As you know, Congress and President Carter passed a law that raises the mandatory retirement age from 65 to 70. Apparently there is a great deal of teeth-gnashing and soul-searching among personnel staff about how to retire people in that 65 thru 69-year-old group if they prove to be incompetent. I may be naive but I have always assumed that prior to the employee's reaching 65, employers were using the same kinds of methods to make those decisions that they could use for the age group 65 to 69.

More important, however, the legislation marks one step in a cultural redefinition of what is mean by "old." Perhaps 400 years ago people reaching the age of 50 may have been called quite old. We will always have to keep in mind the age reference when we use the word. But we are also seeing a change in the term "middle-age." The change is important for middle-aged workers because the lower the age of retirement, the lower the age of hiring -- and that creates problems for the middle-aged worker. If we had a chart showing the differences, by age, in the median number of weeks people are unemployed, you would find that while unemployment rates of older people generally are lower than for younger people, the length of time they remain unemployed is dramatically higher than for teen-agers or young adults in their early 20s.

A higher retirement age can also make a difference in hiring practices. For example, you are an employer, and your firm has a policy of retiring people at age 60. If a 50-year-old worker and a 35-year-old worker apply for a job, you might think, "Well, the 50 year old will stay on for 10 years, the 35 year old will stay on for 25 years, why should I waste my time hiring the 50 year old?" But if the retirement age is raised to 70, you can say, "At 50, this person will have 20 more years, and even though the younger worker might stay on longer, there is a better chance for a pay-off over a period of 20 years for the 50 year old." The job seeker might say, "People typically retire at 60 in this company. I won't be kept long. I'll look for some other place -- even though it might be less desirable -- where the retirement age is not that low."

The unemployment and job market experiences of middle-aged workers can be much more traumatic than for the teen-ager or very young adult. One of the problems in this policy area is that officials simply take the body-count approach or the unemployment-rate approach in defining the labor problem. They don't spend enough time investigating the mental health or psychosomatic impact of unemployment, one of the issues I hope to discuss further.

I would like to focus on some selected aspects of mid-career and middle-age changes, including the desire for such events and the problems associated with voluntary and involuntary changes. I will also give some special attention as to how the role of counseling in education can help people face these problems. One of the encouraging developments in behavioral science theory and research is the growing recognition that such a thing as adult socialization exists; that personality development, personality structure, vocational choices, and values can't be completely understood merely by focusing on infant, childhood, and adolescent phenomenon; and that human beings do undergo changes in perspectives, vocational interests, goals and values even in middle and late adulthood.

Some of these changes may have origins in a fluctuating social and economic environment, such as the ups and downs associated with recessions and technological developments, the relocation of industry, and so on. Each of these may have a different impact depending on the individual state in the life cycle. Furthermore, the impact may not show up until some years after the event. So don't expect, let's say, to see a high rate of mental disorders the same year unemployment is 9%. Equally important, the behavioral learning, and other attributes of middle-aged persons of one generation cannot be safely inferred from those of a previous generation. This proposition is frequently neglected by social scientists and policymakers, expecially those social scientists who base their advice to policymakers on the assumption that universal principles can be derived from studies of one particular age group, regardless of the unique characteristics of the specific historical period in which that particular age group has lived and worked.

It shouldn't come as a surprise that the men and women who were at least teen-agers during the Great Depression and who are now in their 50s and 60s have a greater concern about job security and put a greater value on government intervention than men and women now in their early 30s. By the year 2000, 50-and 60-year-old Americans will be far more educated (measured at least by years they sit in a classroom) than the current generation

of the same age. This fact will, I think, have some significant implications for such issues as the quality of work life, continued interest in learning in both the formal and informal sense, and perhaps the right to continue working beyond what we now call the Age of Retirement. There may be a lot of reasons for this trend, not the least of which is inflation, the new constant with us.

Furthermore, if increased life expectancy among older adults continues, by the turn of the century men and women reaching what we now call "retirement age" may be less willing than people today to accept retirement incomes and retirement roles for the rest of their lives -- perhaps 20 years or more. Also, on the economic side, various pension and retirement funds will be less and less able to maintain an acceptable level of retirement income. This situation has nothing to do with the whole business of adjusting to retirement on the psychological level: I am talking about the economic factors, and the very definition of middle-age will itself change, because the biomedical dimensions are going to be different. People will live healthier, live longer lives, and we will be able to say that middle-age extends into the 50s and 60s.

This observation or idea is not new. Alex Comfort said it almost ten years ago. As a matter of fact, a case could be made today for the theory that the growing interest in the topic of middle-age and mid-career change and middle-age malaise is partly related to the change in life expectancy. The longer people live, the greater the odds that a number of intervening experiences, both environmental and subjective, will affect their occupational self-identity.

Another dimension of living longer that has not been recognized sufficiently is that between now and the year 2000, a larger percentage of people in their 60s will have parents still alive. In 1960, when I first started looking at these kinds of statistics, out of every 100 people aged 60 to 64, roughly 34%, had a parent still alive. By the year 2000 that figure will be 73%. On both the economic and the social-psychological levels, a relationship exists between having a parent still living when in your 60s and your remaining in the labor force. This means, in part, that to help older people remain productive in the labor force, and that means at least for educators, some continuing education, whether it's formal or informal.

All of this has crucial implications for our institutions of learning.

I include here those activities in work places that provide, or could provide, opportunities for further training and learning for employees, especially middle-aged workers. More and more adults are seeking additional education, and frequently a different education, one that will enable them to move out of their current occupations, for whatever reason.

The question is how effectively have our educational institutions adapted to this changing picture. While we can cite some encouraging signs, we have not yet made enough of an overt and conscious reassessment of our institutions -- schools, factories, and offices -- so that they can address the challenge of adult occupational change and mid-career development. Part of that overhaul, of course, involves some serious financial dimensions. If only the individual benefits, how might he or she pay for the additional education -- or should the individual pay? If organizations and the general economy benefit, will government and employers pay? And how much? I will argue that a ready market exists for educational institutions to offer courses -- if properly structured, timed, and taught -- to those middle-aged and older adults who are already continuing their education.

I find it discomforting that a recent survey of tuition-paid company educational programs, less than 1% of the hourly employees 45 and older participated, compared to more than 3% of the younger employees. The challenge, then, is to find out how to increase the participation of the 45+ group. Other factors might need to be included in such planning processes, such as personnel policies regarding promotion opportunities for older workers, the greater learning anxieties of middle-aged and older worker, or the failure of the education programs to develop special training techniques appropriate for older persons. Few of our professional educators have concentrated on the challenge of developing new approaches for improving the learning behavior of older persons. This might be a special challenge to our schools of education which have developed a rich base of pedagogical theories and methods founded on the empirical study of children, but not of adults.

Mid-career change and middle-aged malaise have several other dimensions. Their importance can be seen in the recent finding of a large-scale longitudinal survey of middle-aged male workers sponsored by the Department of Labor. In the first five years of that survey, from 1966 to 1971, it was found that job satisfaction declined, but only among those men who did not

change jobs voluntarily. The men least satisfied with their jobs in 1966 were the most likely to make a voluntary job change from 1966 to 1971.

Explanation for the decline is that after a certain number of years, a worker may lose interest in a job, especially if the job is characterized by a lot of negative features, including lack of challenge. Routinized jobs over a long time can generate dissatisfaction even if those jobs pay well. It shouldn't be surprising that imperical research shows the poorer the quality of the job and the fewer the opportunities to learn from it, the more quickly the middle-aged worker wants to take advantage of early retirement.

The early retirement phenomenon itself can result in ever increasing costs to the employing organization, the general economy, and even to the individual. It also gets aggravated by the increased life expectancy of middle-aged people. If we develop a broader program, on a wide scale, of mid-career change opportunities, with appropriate provisions, we might be making a strong contribution to a healthier climate of economic development. Schools of education ought to be thinking of their role in the total picture of economic development.

There is also a need for upgrading middle-level employees and professionals to make room for lower-level working-class men and women who complain about being in dead-end jobs. We need to develop a larger number of people who perform higher level functions in the Title II and Title VI programs of CETA (public service employment) in meeting those public services that are truly in sad neglect. In a project that I am working on for the Department of Labor I have found that one of the barriers to having decent public services is the regulation against including semi-skilled or skilled people in the program because they might not have been unemployed long enough, or their income may be slightly over the cut-off point, and so on.

You might argue that the tendency for more people to consider a radical job change would help reduce unemployment rates or, at the very least, the duration of joblessness which is highest among unemployed middle-aged and older workers. (In 1977, younger workers were unemployed a median number of 4.8 weeks. For worke s 45 and over, it's close to 11.0 weeks.) I've consistently found that the ones who experience the greatest success in job searches -- those who are looking for work -- are employees who had frequently thought about making an occupational change. This suggests that we shouldn't allow people to become over-identified with their regular

occupations. It also means that we need to make the concept of multiple careers over the life span an integral part of our educational and counseling responsibility. Apart from the role that the concept might perform in coping with unemployment, this notion of multiple careers for employees should also be part of employers' thinking and decision making. Because work is, and is going to remain, a central focus for more than work itself, the management of ourselves throughout our life cycle will be enhanced if a second, third, or fourth career is presented as a real option.

In the past two years more and more people have speculated that we are producing a generation of young people educated beyond the demands of the jobs they can obtain in today's labor market. What would be their fate over the long run if they were to accept the concept of multiple careers? I think the result would be much more beneficial for themselves and for the social order than if they were to become fixed on the single lifetime career concept. I already know that among the workers I have studied in recent years, general discontent is highest for those who are 50 and have at least a high school education. (I am thinking of those in blue-collar work.) What I am suggesting is, if higher educated workers remain over most of their working lives locked into lower status occupations, they will become socially and politically alienated. For example, those workers who register considerable discrepancy between their expectations and their actual life achievement since leaving school are much more likely not to vote or, if they did so, to vote for poeple like George Wallace. They are much more likely <u>not</u> to believe that blacks want to get ahead using the same methods as other Americans. They are more likely to believe that unions and employers are doing too much to provide training and good jobs for blacks. The evidence also suggests that older workers who wanted to make occupational changes but didn't (what I call the potential candidates for mid-career change) also showed the same tendencies. They were more politically alienated and much more racially hostile than other workers.

Education, as you know, tends to heighten one's expectations of life and work. To the extent that these expectations are not met, we can expect some serious social and political discontent. I am certainly not advocating any lessening of our democratic culture's emphasis on education. Even if we wanted to change the emphasis, I doubt if we would be successful. But we can do something about the concept of multiple careers. And not simply during the childhood and adolescent life changes when we typically have people in some captive audience. The notion of multiple careers also has

to be cultivated for and among middle-aged Americans in a variety of educational and counseling settings. All of these and related findings point to a group of people in our society who might benefit from a more structured opportunity making it possible for them to shift to new and different kinds of work. In the long run, society would also benefit. Regardless of blue or white collar status, I think there is a growing need for flexible or second careers among such people - men in particular right now, and women as they become long-term members of the labor force.

At the very least, our schools at all levels of education should be helping their students develop the capacity to cope with the changes they are likely to experience during their lives, especially their work lives. This is a skill that transcends the mere learning of a specific occupation and the body of knowledge and techniques associated with the tasks in that occupation. In our type of society, being prepared for mid-career change is an objective necessity. What are schools doing today to develop among their future teachers the effective orientation and methods to help others prepare for mid-career change and multiple careers? At the same time, employing organiz ations in both the private and public sectors need to consider how they can contribute through their personnel methods and the type and quantity of training and learning opportunities provided employees. Are they making their workers obsolete by the time they move into their middle-age? That obsolescence is not the manifestation of some "inexorable" biological process associated with aging.

The country's schools of management and of business administration have an equal responsibility to inform current and future managers about this issue. An increase in learning opportunities for all levels of personnel should produce an expanded capacity for coping with and managing changes in the life cycle. It is encouraging to see the growing interest in this popular topic of mid-career change and the concept of greater intermittency and rotation of work, learning, and leisure. A few years ago these subjects were, at best, the objective of a narrow band of social scientists and philosophers, but today more of us are aware of the issues. We know, for example, that many men and women have harbored more or less private inner thoughts about their secret selves, including a metier de reve, a dream vocation or occupation. This applies to a wide range of people from all walks of life. The more that fact is known, the more these individual longings will come out in the open;

otherwise they can be a source of serious frustration. These frustrations become more serious among middle-aged persons since, unlike the young, they do not have too many more years in which to make those dreams a reality. In the absence of those opportunities, the capacity for coping with the mid-life cycle is diminished; and when that capacity is diminished the flame of the American dream itself is snuffed out. People drop out, becoming socially and politically alienated; or they may retire early which can include retiring on the job as well as from the job.

In this discussion I've tried to focus on some special dimensions of the links between employment and continued and continuing education or relearning for adults, especially in the context of broader social and political considerations. While the employment problems are clearly not trivial in the lives of individuals nor in the welfare of our national community, the more compelling test of the quality of that linkage is its impact on the faith that American men and women maintain in that national community.

Dr. Ronald C. Rodgers, Senior Professional Associate, Mid-western Regional Office, Educational Testing Service. Publication: The Public Employment Service as a Labor Market Intermediary, National Commission on Manpower Policy.

THE ROLE OF THE INTERMEDIARY

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In the course of this conference we have been given information and ideas on adult growth, problems, and transitions from various perspectives. We examined the growing importance of learning for adults throughout the life span. Many disciplines have contributed to our search for insights into how adults learn and adapt to change, including the values that influence our decisions at different times in our lives. We have also looked at the dynamics of labor market operations and at the special problems facing many older workers today. I would like to synthesize what some of this means for you as labor market intermediaries. How can you use what you are hearing at this conference, and what you will be talking about later on, to be more effective in helping people make their own decisions about work, family, and community?

The theme of this conference has forced us to consider how a person's needs change during his or her life cycle. While many people seem to manage their lives quite independently, others rely on the help of intermediaries to cope with the constant flow of changes in their lives. The fundamental role of the labor market intermediary is to facilitate transition in a person's life as he or she responds to shifting employment opportunities, economic conditions, unemployment, changing personal values, changing political preferences, national policy, and ultimately the effects of aging and growth. These changes capture your attention in many ways. First, you are experiencing them; you are changing and adapting constantly yourselves. Second, those people who come to you for help or those whom you may help indirectly are influenced, first by the example you set, and second by the advice you give. Each stage in the work life of a person may require different combinations of information, support, and assistance unique to that time of life, unique to that set of circumstances, and perhaps unique for the individual. How can you cope with these diverse needs of groups and individuals seeking the help of labor market intermediaries?

Intermediaries begin by providing and interpreting information, but far too much information exists for you to try to present or understand everything or to become an expert about all of the occupations, all the industries, or all the opportunities into which people might move. As a result, you have to focus

on particular types of information that are most useful. Both the potential worker and the employer need information about cost, opportunity, and risk; but what do these mean for you as intermediaries?

The first consideration that arises regarding cost is the expense of preparing for particular types of work. This involves training and education, of course; but there are many other costs you may not have considered. For example, the cost of going to school includes, for most people, the cost of deferring income that might have been earned during that time, or postponing leisure, or substituting education for leisure. Education may be a type of leisure activity, but not if you consider your training as a way to facilitate a career change. Second is the cost to an individual's personal and social commitments. A decision to change jobs or careers typically affects all of the people in the household and may require significant adjustments in their lives. Job-related expenses also include the cost of gathering information with which to make decisions, information that is often expensive and difficult to acquire, and may be too unreliable or inadequate to help one make informed choices. Perhaps the most difficult information to get, and the most important, is data about the internal labor market, the real conditions under which you will have to work inside an organization.

What is the probability that you would be able to move into a better work situation? If you should be given an opportunity, would you recognize its dimensions and limitations? Where is this going to lead you? And at what cost in social and work adjustments? The second concern is how an opportunity may fit into the pattern and direction of a person's life. Will it take you where you want to go or will it demand from you what you are not ready or willing to undertake? The question of time is often overlooked but is extremely important. We all tend to make judgments about opportunities for ourselves, but I would like to caution you as labor market intermediaries against making them for others. What we need to do is to give each person the flexibility to decide for himself.

The next factor, risk, has to do with the possibility we may fail to achieve a goal or adapt successfully to a new situation. Not everyone who changes jobs succeeds or is satisfied with the result, in part because we are not all equally able to recognize the problems which may emerge as we change major parts of our

lives. Moving from one job or career to another may not always be the wisest choice. For some people the problem may be in adapting to the demands and expectations of any job rather than a problem with boredom or a bad choice. Sometimes poor adaptation signals the need to help the person learn coping skills before helping them search for new opportunities. Otherwise, you may be contributing to a pattern of poor adaptation and failure. This is especially a problem for government-funded employment projects such as CETA, Youth Employment Training Programs, public service employment. In some cases we are recycling people from one government employment program to another rather than dealing with the basic problem that causes them to experience difficulties in the labor market.

The Educational Testing Service has begun to recognize and show some interest in the problems of employment and work adaptation. At present, we are working on a program to assess youth employment skills. By employment skills we are not referring to specific kinds of job-related tasks; rather, we are talking about the attitudes and behaviors that determine whether a person is able to find and keep a job and that may eventually lead to opportunities for growth and advancement within an organization. We are discovering that dealing with these questions is a revelation for programs such as CETA. They have tended to focus on getting people trained in job-specific terms. They may have included a short section in their curriculum about job-search assistance, but they rarely attempt to look at the behavior requirements of work and at the basic attitudes that may cause a person difficulty in the labor market. Individuals who lack these adjustment skills, particularly young people, are, in effect, being programmed for lives of failure and insecurity in the labor market.

Once this information is available, it is important that you as an intermediary do not force decisions on people. Choice must be the responsibility of that person's own assessment of net advantage. The concept of "net advantage" evolved from the economist, Adam Smith, about 200 years ago. He listed five principal circumstances he considered the elements of choice:

1. Agreeableness of the work.
2. Difficulty and expense of learning the required skills.
3. Constancy or security of job employment.
4. Status or the prestige that accompanies the job.

5. Probability of success.

Our concept of occupational choice parallels the problems you have been hearing about at this conference and parallels the complexity of the labor market. Forty years ago it may have been absolutely appropriate to consider that occupational choice, made during adolescence, was for life, but that assumption is not reasonable today. Occupational choice involves being prepared to adapt to a labor market that is constantly changing. Thus, the concept of serial careers is not just a luxury for those who can afford it, it's a necessity in order to cope with the labor market in which we live and work. Eli Ginzberg at Columbia, after about 35 years of funded research, has gradually developed a definition of occupational choice which parallels what Adam Smith told us 200 years ago. Ginzburg decided that occupational choice is a lifelong process of decision making in which people attempt to find the optimal fit between their preparation and goals and the realities of the world of work. In other words, the person is attempting to calculate the net advantages of that time in his or her life; as those factors change, preparation and goals change, the net advantage changes. Your role as a labor market intermediary is important to help the person gain access to a broader range of opportunities. If you have to choose between unemployment and a job you don't want, what is your choice? There really isn't one. Here again we have a problem with how we treat those people who need services from institutional intermediaries, because we presume too much, we make decisions for them. We say, here is the job, take it or leave it. We don't enable them to understand or prepare for the changes that the job may force them to make in their lives.

We began this discussion with an assumption that every person attending this conference is an intermediary. One reason for this claim is the marked difference between formal and informal roles. Each of us participates in loosely joined networks of informal intermediaries influencing each other. We refer to these networks in terms of our roles as parents, friends, neighbors, fellow workers, and virtually anyone from whom we learn and gather insight and information. These are often subtle, indirect influences as we carry out our roles at home, at work, and in our larger communities. Many people manage quite well by building networks of informal intermediaries who help them gain access to opportunities, information, education, and support sufficient to facilitate choice, adaptation,

and success throughout their lives.

But not everyone is equally well prepared to rely on these informal relationships. The most formal intermediaries are those employed primarily to help the person or employer make better choices in the labor market. On the labor supply side, these intermediaries are represented by people who work for special governmental programs such as CETA, Employment Service and Unemployment Insurance, and those of you who are in educational institutions beginning to focus on adult labor market problems. Each of these special organizations have been created as instruments of national employment policy to assist those persons experiencing difficulty in work entry, adjustment, or job security. Similarly, corporations have enlarged the personnel function in recent years, in part to rely on personnel workers for intermediary roles on the demand side of the labor market. Both attempt to reduce the costs, time, and risks of finding new workers and opportunities for people and employers.

Teachers and counselors, however, fall between these extremes. Their primary functions may not focus directly on helping the person discover the net advantages of one choice or another; they contribute substantially to each person's opportunities by enlarging his or her skills, information, and access to resources which may facilitate entry and success. For some, teachers and counselors become direct sources of information and assistance; for others, teachers contribute primarily to a person's knowledge and capacity to learn and adapt to new developments throughout the life span. Many competing factors influence the extent to which a person may rely on formal intermediaries when a change is needed or desired. These include the person's level of social contact among potential informal intermediaries, the degree of support needed by the person to make a transition, and access to resources to facilitate job search and decision making. Once again, those people at the bottom of the ladder have the most restricted access to the resources that would enable them to make choices.

The process begins early as the young person starts preparing for adaptation to various stages in life. Schooling is part of a process that teaches young people the social expectations of work: punctuality, perseverance, taking direction and following instruction, work discipline, and adaptation to authority. These expectations are first encountered in our culture in the formal institutions of elementary and secondary education. They shape our basic attitudes toward

learning and our capacity to adapt to changes in ourselves, in society, in work, health, and leisure.

Adolescence increasingly marks the beginning of one's efforts to enter and explore the labor market. This process includes gaining access to new intermediaries, both formal and informal, as the young person begins to assume the status of an adult. The person tries out different jobs, explores opportunities, and struggles with problems of social and occupational identity.

One reason many intermediaries focus particularly on young people is that the barriers that limit their access to jobs are relatively easy to identify. National emphasis on persistently high unemployment rates suggest that youth, and particularly minority youth, bear a disproportionate share of the burden. Recent legislation from Congress has stepped up youth employment efforts through programs such as CETA, although some critics claim too little time and attention has been focused on the quality of jobs and where they may lead.

We have been talking about entry barriers that affect adolescents primarily. We now have large numbers of older persons, women particularly, experiencing the same kinds of barriers as they attempt to reenter the labor market. For many the technology in the industry or the career in which they successfully performed in the past has changed radically. This is particularly true in the health professions. Finally, whether or not an employer is willing to hire an individual depends to a large extent on the conditions within that employer's labor market. Is the organization growing or declining? Are entry level jobs low level because they are the first step toward higher paying jobs?

As a person gains recognition as a productive worker, supervisors and fellow workers take on added intermediary roles. Formal relationships may develop with associations and new networks. Unions perform this role for many blue-collar workers. Professional associations attempt to function as intermediaries for white-collar and professional employees. This also creates a premium for internal labor market information and insights into the rules, customs, supervision, and internal environments of particular organizations for which a person may want to work.

The problem that we face as we attempt to look at your role as intermediaries for adults is that we have not looked very carefully at how people move through transitions later in life. For those of you thinking about areas of research,

that is where we have the greatest need, particularly in terms of looking at the labor market. We need to know more about what happens to people and how they make appropriate choices and decisions as they attempt to cope with the problems of a constantly changing market. In the future, we will need to prepare people to adapt to change as they enter the market, rather than trying to prepare them after they have failed to enter it successfully.

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Unpublished dissertation: Determinants of Interorganizational Linkage: A Study of Illinois Community Colleges and CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act)

LABOR MARKET LINKAGES

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The 1979 CETA reauthorization legislation is clear in its statement of scope and intent (Section 675-1)[1] that one of the purposes of the law is to: "Provide for the coordination of programs under CETA with other social service, employment and training related programs, economic development, community development and related activities such as vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, public assistance, self-employment training and social service programs."

The concept of linkage is not new; however, its specific reference in legislation is a formal acknowledgement of a fact which public policy analysts and field practitioners are faced with on a regular basis. No single program and/or agency has all of the resources necessary to attack complex social problems. An individual's inability to get and/or keep employment may involve a multiplicity of issues all of which impinge upon his or her employability: health problems, transportation problems, child care issues, restrictions or penalties from other Federal/state programs, for example welfare programs, as well as the more expected employability issues of work attitude and the lack of specific job-related skills.

What becomes necessary for employment and training specialists, especially those working with clients at the local level, is the ability to identify those Federal, state and/or local programs which can provide needed services for clients, develop the needed linkages among these programs and agencies, and create a package of services drawn from these multiple sources to address the multi-dimensional needs of clients to be served. At the Federal level alone there are approximately 20 different programs in the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare and of Labor which involve manpower policy. Since CETA is the major instrument of manpower policy, knowledge of its purposes and programs is a starting point for determining the need for linkage with other programs.

When the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) became law December 28, 1973[2], it ushered in a new era of manpower policy. Its purpose is to provide job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed and underemployed persons through a decentralized system of manpower programs.

Manpower policy is a concern for people in relation to work. It blends economic and social objectives.[3] The social objectives relate to the individual's

opportunity for self-fulfillment, for developing one's full potential. In American culture individuals often define themselves in terms of occupation or employment. Therefore, access to work is integral to personal identity and growth. In terms of economic objectives, manpower policy is concerned with the economic productivity of the nation. Adam Smith, in his Wealth of Nations, reminded us of the importance of land, labor and capital. A look at the occupational shifts (Table I) and the industries in which employment opportunities are growing (Table II) show that employment is growing in those occupations and industries which require trained, skilled manpower. The labor component in Adam Smith's equation holds an important key to future national productivity.

For those who are interested in labor market linkages, an appreciation of the historical perspective from which CETA evolved lends clarity to its legislative intent. This historical dimension also points out the inclusion of new cientele groups to be served, the delivery system which was put into place, and the limitations which necessitate strong linkages with other programs and agencies if there is to be an effective employment and training system. Professionals, at every level, need to understand the public policy arena in which they operate to maximize the effectiveness of their roles in it.

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act upon enactment, was the beneficiary of ten years of trial and error to design and implement an effective and efficient manpower program. Its roots are traced to the "war on poverty" undertaken by the "Great Society" of the Johnson Administration (1963-1968).

The Great Society will be remembered for its use of public policy as a tool for social equity. There was a recognition that the economic market model of supply and demand which works well in the private sector for questions of production falls short as a mechanism for allocating a social product. How much clean air do we want, what percent of unemployed will we tolerate? These social determinations are often arrived at on the basis of philosophy, or religion or values. In the 1960's, the economic model for allocating resources for social policy was rejected in favor of the political market.[4] The manpower phenomenon of the 1960s should be understood in the context of its connection with the Civil Rights Movement. In evaluating manpower programs it is not enough to ask about increases in employment. One needs to also ask: Have manpower programs been an effective instrument for producing equity in job access for minorities?[5]

Table I

Employment by Major Occupational Group

	1900	1969	1975
White Collar Workers			
Professional and Technical	17.6	47.3	49.7
Managers and Administrators, except farm			
Sales Workers			
Clerical Workers			
Blue Collar Workers	35.8	36.2	33.0
Craft and Kindred Workers			
Operatives			
Nonfarm Laborers			
Service Workers	9.0	12.2	13.8
Farm Workers	37.5	4.2	3.5

Table II

Distribution of Employment by Goods-Producing and Service-Producing Industries, 1919, 1969, June 1977

Industry Division	Employment (thousands)	Percentage of U.S. Total	Employment (thousands)	Percentage of U.S. Total	Employment (thousands)	Percentage of U.S. Total
	1919		1969		June 1977	
Total Employment	37,837	100.0	73,745	100.0	85,475	100.0
Goods-Producing Industries	23,562	62.3	27,765	37.7	27,707	32.4
Agriculture	10,749	28.4	3,606	4.9	3,354	3.9
Mining	1,133	3.0	628	.9	855	1.0
Manufacturing	10,659	28.2	20,121	27.3	19,622	23.0
Construction	1,021	2.7	3,410	4.6	3,876	4.5
Service-Producing Industries	14,275	37.7	45,980	62.4	57,768	67.6
Transportation, Communications, Public Utilities	3,711	9.8	4,449	6.0	4,579	5.4
Wholesale & Retail Trade	4,514	11.9	14,644	19.9	18,247	21.4
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	1,111	2.9	3,558	4.8	4,489	5.3
Services	2,263	6.0	11,102	15.1	15,245	17.8
Government	2,676	7.1	12,227	16.6	15,208	17.8

*Data Sources: For 1818 and 1969, Neville Chamberlain, The Labor Sector, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1971, p. 21
For June 1977, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, News, June 3, 1977.

The strategy which was utilized was Human Resources Development Strategy (referred to as H.R.D.).[6] It revolutionized the approach to social legislation including manpower policy. This strategy has two striking characteristics: a new clientele group and a comprehensive approach to service delivery. First, the programs were directed to a new clientele group, those individuals at the end of the queue. Earlier manpower programs were geared to those persons who were vested in the economic system as a result of gainful employment or military service. The Social Security System, Unemployment Compensation, the G. I. Bill of Rights are based on this premise. Eligibility criteria based upon previous successful participation selectively "screens out" those individuals in society with the greatest need. The "war on poverty" was oriented to "screen in" the most disadvantaged segments of society. In contrast to the mass unemployment of the 1930s, economists in the 1960s recognized that "this unemployment was different. It is class or structural unemployment distinguished by factors such as age, race, education ... ."[7]

Structural unemployment is a result of a labor supply which does not possess the skills required by presently available and anticipated jobs in the labor market. An expansion of the overall economy alone will not eradicate structural unemployment. Education, training, an end to discrimination, these are partial solutions.

A second characteristic of the Human Resources Development Strategy was a recognition of the interrelationship of multiple policy areas for designing an effective service delivery system to this new clientele group. Comprehensive services involving education, training, job placement, health care, child support, transportation, housing, etc., are often needed to effectuate the transition from unemployment to employment.

Three federal agencies were in the vanguard of the "war" to achieve social equity: Department of Labor, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. They were armed with a plethora of programs legislatively created by the following acts:

1962 - Manpower Development and Training Act

1963 - Vocational Education Act

1964 - Civil Rights Act
Equal Opportunity Act

1965 - Higher Education Act
Elementary and Secondary Education Act
Vocational Rehabilitation Act

By the end of the 1960s, there were more than 17 manpower programs; each had its own legislative base, organizational structure, funding source and regulations. Over 10,000 specific manpower projects, often with several in the same community, competed for clients and resources.[8] Justifiable criticism resulted. This top-down approach of categorized funding resulted in duplication of effort, gaps in coverage, competition among agency bureaucrats to protect their "turf" and the overabundance of paper work generated by each separate categorical program.[9] A debate ensued involving the pros and cons of categorical programs versus revenue sharing. The rhetoric juxtaposed "putting square pegs into round holes" versus "putting the money on the stump and running." CETA was designed as a compromise. It allows for local initiatives in planning and coordination with overall priorities and directions set nationally.

Prior to the passage of CETA in 1973, it was realized that cooperation and coordination of manpower programs was needed. Two programs particularly served as the testing ground for administrative reforms: Concentrated Employment Programs and Cooperative Area Manpower Systems.

The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) began in the summer of 1967. It was directed to census tracts with the worst unemployment and income conditions. Its goal was to combine a variety of categorical programs operating in a target community by putting the responsbility for administration, planning, and delivery of comprehensive manpower services within the jurisdiction of a single local agent, often a community action agency. The purpose of the CEP was to eliminate duplication of efforts, to reduce competition among agencies and to avoid overlapping of client services.[10]

An important by-product of CEP and other Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) programs funded through community action agencies was a political challenge to the established units of government -- cities, counties, villages -- to address the needs of the disadvantaged groups in their local communities. The effect of the direct funding strategy of OEO programs was to by-pass recalcitrant mayors and governors who in the past had ignored the needs of disadvantaged groups.[11] CETA returned control to the established elected officials; however, local groups' expertise was already developed among personnel from community based organizations -- subsequent CETA sub-contractors -- could be built upon in the areas of program coordination, comprehensive planning and organization linkages.

While CEP was developing administrative and program expertise on the community level, the Cooperative Area Manpower System (CAMPS) was aimed at developing local and state planning expertise. CAMPS grew out of an effort in March 1967 to bring more effective planning into M.D.T.A. programs by involving state and local governments in the planning process. Local, state and regional coordinating councils were formed to develop comprehensive coordinated manpower plans for various geographic areas. This was the first attempt at an organized decentralized planning system. However, CAMPS fell short of original expectations. It became more effective as an interagency communication network than as a planning council as a result of lack of information, insufficient lead time for planning and absence of authority to implement plans.[12] The success of CAMPS was not its facility in planning but in establishing the structure for a federal/state/local planning network. It also stimulated interest among elected officials at the state and local level to participate in the planning of manpower delivery systems.

A new dimension was added to the manpower program mix in 1971 with the Emergency Employment Act (EEA). This act authorized a temporary job creation program, the first since the New Deal. The intent of this public jobs program was to provide transitional employment, i.e., a bridge, not a substitute, to permanent productive jobs in the public and private sectors. Congress' rationale in passing the Emergency Employment Act was that the creation of a public jobs program would act as a counter-cyclical measure to halt and reverse the rising unemployment rate which reached 6.2% in 1970, a nine year high.

The stage was set for CETA. CETA reflects the experiences of the manpower programs of the sixties and early seventies. It draws its program mix from the myriad of categorical manpower programs: occupational skill training, adult basic education, on the job training, pre-vocational orientation, work experience, support services. CETA implements the CEP concept by allowing local communities to establish priorities, identify clientele to be served and administer comprehensive manpower programs. The CAMPS model is operationalized in the State's Manpower Services Councils and the Prime Sponsor Planning Councils and CETA, Title II encompasses the Emergency Employment Act adding a public job creation program to areas of high unemployment.

When CETA became law on December 28, 1973, the rhetoric announcing its passage claimed that it was a comprehensive, decategorized, decentralized statement of manpower policy. However, despite the rhetoric, CETA is neither comprehensive nor totally decategorized. Only in levels of decentralization is CETA living up to its advanced billing.

A breakdown of CETA legislation by titles, as amended October 27, 1978, demonstrates not only the categorical nature of the program but the divergent clientele groups and purposes to which CETA is designed to respond. The following is a breakdown of the CETA legislation by title:

Title I - Administrative Provisions - This title contains general provisions applicable to all programs such as definitions and conditions governing work and training including time limitations and wage parameters.

Title II - Comprehensive Employment and Training Services - This title combines former Titles I and II in the original legislation. Grants go to states and localities serving as prime sponsors of comprehensive employment and training programs. Services may include:

- Recruitment, orientation, counseling, testing, placement, and follow-up services
- Classroom instruction in occupational skills and other job related training such as basic education
- Subsidized on the job training with public and private employers
- Allowances for persons training and such supportive services as medical care, child care and help in obtaining bonding
- Transitional public service employment for persons in areas of substantial unemployment (6.5%) to be coupled with a training program which leads to unsubsidized employment

Title III - Special Federal Responsibilities - This title allocates categorical monies for special target groups who have a particular disadvantage in the labor market including Native Americans, migrants, handicapped, middle-aged and 'older workers' and displaced homemakers. The Secretary of Labor

is authorized to carry out programs of job search and relocation assistance, veterans information and outreach and a variety of demonstration projects.

Title IV - Youth Programs - This title encompasses the youth programs previously enacted, namely, the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 (except for the Youth Adult Conservation Corps, which is still Title VIII), the Job Corps, the Summer Youth Employement Program and a Youth Social Bonus Program

Title V - National Commission for Employment Policy - Formerly called the National Commission on Manpower Policy the purpose of the Commission is to identify the nation's employment needs, do research, evaluate programs, and report annually to the President and to Congress.

Title VI - Countercyclical Public Service Employment - This title provides a public service employment program which increases or decreases according to shifts in the national unemployment rate. The legislation authorized funding of a sufficient number of jobs to employ 20% of the number of unemployed in excess of 4% national unemployment and when the unemployment rate reaches 7% an increase in funds to provide jobs for 25% of the unemployed in excess of 4%.

Title VII - Private Sector Opportunities for the Economically Disadvantaged - This is a new title which provides a demonstration program to test the effectiveness of a variety of programs to increase the involvement of the business community in employment and training activities under the Act. Prime Sponsors are provided funds to establish Private Industry Councils (PIC's) to help shift the emphasis from subsidized public employment to unsubsidized private sector jobs.

Title VIII - Young Adult Conservation Corps - This title provides jobs and training for disadvantaged youth in residential and non-residential settings on conservation, wildlife and recreation projects.

While the categorical nature of many of the CETA titles (especially Titles III, IV, V, VII, VIII) is evident, CETA has not put into place a comprehensive manpower program. The activities of the U.S. Employment Service, the Veterans Administration, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare continue to remain autonomous because of the strong lobbies and political clout wielded by their constituent groups. While the CETA legislation

speaks repeatedly of the need to cooperate with these agencies and their programs, linkage requires painstaking effort and persistence.

Any discussion of linkage strategy must be understood in light of the decentralized delivery of CETA manpower programs. Responsibility for implementing CETA falls to eligible units of state and local governments called Prime Sponsors. In FY'77, there were 445 CETA Prime Sponsors (governmental entities such as cities or counties with a population of 100,000) or more to whom authority for manpower programs has been delegated. The state acts as a prime sponsor for those counties with populations of less than 100,000 population. These counties collectively are called the "balance of state."

The prime sponsor is responsible for assessing local needs, establishing priorities and providing programs to meet these needs. Prime sponsors determine whether to provide services directly or to subcontract for delivery of services with other organizations or agencies, for example, public schools, community colleges, the employment service, community groups or private institutions. These subcontracting arrangements provide the opportunity for linkage at the local level. For example, the CETA prime sponsor may have clients in need of education and training; this can be funded under Title II. The student can be offered training at a community college in programs and classes that already exist; this is called a "less than class size" program. It is possible if linkage has not been accomplished for the community college to be aware of the placement of a CETA client in its classes and programs, but experience shows that when proper linkage has occurred both institutions, the prime sponsor and the community college through their cooperative efforts, can enhance the support to the student by combining resources -- such as counseling, job development and job placement -- to better meet the students individual needs, while avoiding costly duplication of effort.

It is also possible for either a local educational institution or a prime sponsor to suggest a "class size" arrangement in which a special class of program is designed and run exclusively for CETA clients. These programs are most beneficial when the skills being imparted reflect local labor market needs so that jobs are available at the completion of training. This optimum situation most often results when articulation and linkage occurs with local industry. A recognition of this fact is found in Title VII of the amended CETA legislation

which calls for the establishment of Private Industry Councils (PICs).

The need for linkage between CETA and the educational institutions is recognized even though it doesn't always operate effectively. A major federal program funded by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is the Vocational Education Act of 1976. Both the CETA legislation and the Vocational Education Act require coordination with one another. In examining both pieces of legislation there is a concern for meeting labor market needs, focusing on areas of high unemployment and those areas which are economically depressed. There is also similar language in designing programs to meet the special needs of target populations -- the non-English speaking, the handicapped, the economically disadvantaged. The issue for CETA and Vocational Education is how to appropriately meet the needs of an overlapping clientele while avoiding duplication of effort.

Thus far the linkage issue has been discussed in terms of relationship with education institutions. The need exists in other areas as well. The Employment Service, for example, has been in existence since the passage of the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933. The Employment Service has established assessment, counseling and job placement programs. The question of turf, competition for clients and different styles of operation have been in evidence as CETA and the Employment Service each seek to fulfill their mandates. However, the challenge and the opportunity for manpower specialists is how to define the roles of each of these institutions to avoid duplication of services, maximize the resources of each and therefore provide a more comprehensive delivery of manpower services to the broadest possible client group. This task of linkage is easier to conceptualize than it is to implement. However, there are examples of successful cooperative efforts. In some states CETA works with those individuals who are in need of training, those who are not job ready, while the Employment Service concentrates its efforts on those who have the requisite skills but who need to be matched with available jobs in the labor market.

Once the need for linkage has been established the question for practitioners is how to begin to implement linkage, especially at the local level. Research indicates that there are three essential factors which are essential to linkage. The first is what the interorganizational literature calls Domain Consensus; that is, an awareness of a compatibility or complementarity of mission and goals of two or more organizations which permits interaction to occur. The second

factor is an awareness of the other party which requires that a sufficient level of information exists about the goals, programs, operations and personnel of each institution to permit a choice to be made regarding the opportunities and benefits of linkage. Lastly, flowing from a base of sufficient information, an important motivation for interaction is an identification of the resource/program benefits which accrue as a result of linkage. In a study of Illinois Community Colleges and CETA[13] it was found that these three factors were essential before linkage could occur. Bureaucracy/Red Tape issues, differences in status, turf competition, planning issues were able to be worked out or at least were tolerated once domain consensus, awareness of other party and resource benefits were established.

For local practitioners who hope to bring about labor market linkages initiative must be taken to search out those institutions and individuals who have a compatibility of complementarity of mission. Once the parties have been identified information is needed by all potential parties to a linkage arrangement to determine the benefits and/or impediments to cooperative efforts. Research indicates that the assignment of responsibility for linkage to a specific individual and the institutionalization of communication that is by attendance at meetings, cooperative planning, representation on boards and commissions, these are factors which stimulate linkage.

The need for comprehensive delivery systems for clients in need of employment and training services underscores the importance of linkages at all levels. The complexity of today's world has heightened the need for specialization. However, the magnitude of the problems of manpower policy demonstrate a corollary need for cooperation and linkage so that not only our individual but our collective goals can more readily be attained.

FOOTNOTES

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3. Knowledge and Policy in Manpower: A Study of the Manpower Research and Development Program in the Department of Labor (Washington, D. C.: National Academy of Science, 1975), p. 51.

4. Lance Liebman, "Social Intervention in a Democracy", in The Great Society, Eli Ginzberg and Robert Solow (eds.) (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), p. 16.

5. Curtis Aller, "Discussion of CETA's First Year", Industrial Relations Research Association Series, Proceedings of the 27th Annual Winter Meeting, December 28-29, 1974, p. 211.

6. Frank Cassell and Ron Rodgers, "The Public Employment Service as a Labor Market Intermediary", in Conference on the Labor Market Intermediary National Commission on Manpower Policy, March, 1978, pp. 36-38.

7. John T. Dunlop, "Public Policy and Unemployment", in Studies in Unemployment, Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, U. S. Senate, 86th Congress 2nd Session, 1960.

8. William Meringoff and Lester Pendler, The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (Washington, D. C.: National Academy of Science, 1976), p. 2.

9. Sar Levitan and Joyce Zickler, The Quest for a Federal Manpower Partnership (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 3-7.

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12. Garth L. Mangum, The Emergence of Manpower Policy (New York: Holt Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), pp. 90-93.

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GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

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Increasingly, continuing education has become more and more related to problems such as productivity, employment, and lower rates of inflation. We are slowly beginning to understand that we have to begin to relate training, education, counseling, and the concept of continuing education through life to our economic activities. I think that when we discuss this area of education -- and we are concerned with public policy having to do with employment, with transition through from one job to another, from one status to another -- we're confronted with a number of disturbing observations and frustrations. You don't get into these questions of how well we're doing without understanding that we're not doing very well at all. And to deal with unemployment, to deal with employability, to deal with continuing education calls for vast sums of money and major changes, fundamental changes, in the perception of the problem. As a student of economic history of our country, it is appalling to find that, unless we are confronted with a major crises as a nation , we very rarely have done what we could call the "right thing". How do you effect change in society -- by virture of a logical perception of what should be done? Not in this society. A few years ago I asked myself the question -- "when have we achieved fundamental changes with regard to major problems and under what circumstances?" I went back in our history to find out whether or not we ever undertook to devise a new strategy, develop a new policy based on, first of all, perceiving that there was a problem; secondly, discussing the problem and on the basis of that discussion taking steps through legislation, through the development of programs, to arrive at a solution. I found no such instance in our history.

The first major manpower policy in terms of employment and education to deal with the problem was the result of the appreciation (during the 1860's) of the fact that we had a major shortage of people in the agriculture and mechanical areas. As a result of this the land grant act was passed. But it was passed as the result of the fact that we were in the midst of an industrial revolution and there had been consecutive shortages and major panics in terms of insufficiency of trained personnel in industry and agri-

culture and mechanical arts. (Texas A & M, etc.)

Bringing this discussion up a little closer to the modern period -- up until the 30's, if you were unemployed, there were no unemployment benefits. Also, until the 30's, when you reached age 65 or 70, there were no old-age survivors insurance benefits -- no old-age pension. It was only the depression of the 1930's, the ten year depression, which led to the major reformulation in the government of what they felt the government was responsible for. If you are under 40 you may have a feeling that these things have existed forever when, as a matter of fact, they are fairly young in our history and were the result of a ten year period of depression. Up until 1946 the government never took the position that it was responsible for alleviating a depression. I say that because it was only in 1946 that the so-called full-employment act was passed. I say "so-called" because most people think of it in those terms but nowhere in the Act will you find the adjective "full." This is because most economists involved in the debates understood that it was literally impossible to have a situation where everyone had a job. Even during World War II when, if you were able to move, breathe and were slightly warm, you could get a job -- we still had an unemployment rate of about 2%. The programs of the depression -- the CCC, the WPA, the PWA, were all viewed as temporary -- to tide us over until we resumed normalcy. (I except unemployment insurance and the Social Security Act which established the old-age and survivor's insurance.)

The next major piece of legislation, the next major involvement of the government in the area of education and training, was the GI Bill. It is interesting that most people think that the GI Bill was passed primarily because the average citizen felt that we were deeply in debt to the GIs. Read the legislative history of the GI Bill. In 1944 Congress began to worry about the fact that when the war was over there was a high liklihood that we would lapse into a depression again. So they began to consider legislation which would deal with this potential unemployment. One of the things they came up with was a GI Bill by means of which large numbers of capable and able bodied males would be put back into the educational system, if they so chose, with a stipend. The bill also dealt with GI housing, setting up easy terms on the basis of which GI's could obtain housing -- again to combat returning depression.

Medicare is a fascinating example of how legislation gets passed. Up until a year or two before Medicare was passed the debate was really about

how socialized medicine was going to take us down the road to socialism. It finally became law by virtue of an interesting age distribution. There was a great lumping of young people and older people and the young people were not in the age group where they had sufficient incomes to deal with the increasing cost of medical benefits of an older population. Consequently, tremendous pressure was exerted on Congress to find some means for government to share part of the bill. (Now, if you accept that thesis, where are we now?)

We have an interesting problem in the United States in that for a number of years we've been suffering from high inflation rates; we have been suffering from high unemployment rates; and our productivity is going downhill. What are the implications for those individuals who are in the field of adult education and continuing education? You really do have to go back in history and understand what existed in order to understand where we are and why we are not dealing with these same types of problems successfully. The depression of the 1930's, a major, major depression, lasted about ten years with an unemployment rate above 25%. (25% for the whole nation) The depression of the 30's was what we call a "demand oriented" depression in that there were not sufficient purchases generally in the economy to employ all the people who wanted jobs. The valid assumption was that, once the demand went up again, most of the unemployed would get their jobs back and would do the same kind of work so that basically all you needed to deal with the problem was to give them some sort of money to carry them over for a period of time. One solution was to put them into the Civilian Conservation Corps or the Works Progress Administration -- all temporary. So the unemployment legislation that we wrote said that if you'd been in the labor force and you had had an attachment for say three successive quarters, you would be entitled to receive unemployment benefits. At that time we set the level at about 50% of your last wage but, after about the first two years, the level has never actually been 50% of the last wage; the average is close to 30%, so, if you hear people talking about how you can make about as much in unemployment as you can working, that's nonsense. The average unemployed individual receives only about 30% of the wages he or she received when he was employed.

Beginning in 1948 - 49 - 50 something happened in this country which really began to change the ball game. From the census derived every ten years, we pick up a tremendous amount of information, and we learned in 1950 for the first time that more people in our labor force are in the

service industries than in manufacturing. That has interesting implications because once you begin to get into the service sector you are talking about jobs where you probably have to be functionally literate and you probably have to have a skill that has some technical aspects to it. So 1950 became a watershed in terms of our moving into a new type of economy. We recognized for the first time that the types of jobs in our economy are going to call for more training, more education, than they had ever called for before.

Now another interesting thing happened about that time. During the 30's we began to have a shift in our population. People who were living on the farm, people who were living in the poor areas of the south, the southeast, the southwest, began leaving and coming into our major population centers. Many were black -- a lot were white. They were going to where the jobs were -- quite logical. During the war years many, many more people were coming into major industrial areas looking for jobs. And then in the period '46, '47, '48, something else happened. How many of you are familiar with the old GI housing, FHA? Beginning in 1946 anyone who was a veteran -- and there were twelve or thirteen million of them -- was entitled to buy a house, nothing down, 4% interest, and the housing industry responded fantastically because, basically, the government was guaranteeing the loan. There was a tremendous number of middle income types--mostly white -- buying homes. Where did they locate? They located where land was cheap, perhaps ten, twelve miles outside of the city -- and we had the exodus of the taxpayer from major cities. Middle-class, middle-income, largely white populations entitled to buy homes began moving out of the cities and that was your tax base moving out of the central cities. Most of the people in cities were those who had migrated in from the poor, southern, rural areas, migrated with skills for which there was now very little demand in the major metropolitan areas, and large numbers were functionally illiterate because they came from inadequate school systems. The problems of the city began at that point. The individuals left in the cities needed far more than the average funds for education, funds for housing, funds for upgrading skills. However, as you know, most of our educational programs are locally based. The federal dollar only supplies a very small portion of educational funds in our cities and our states. As a result, we had the beginning of our urban problems, an important part of which grew out of an interesting housing program.

In the late 50's a new term began to develop among economists -- not "unemployed" but "unemployable". Even with jobs available, individuals did not necessarily have the skills to fill the jobs. So now -- in 1959-1962, we were faced with the problem of how do we train, how do we educate, how do we cope with the tremendous financial pressure of the necessary training programs. We began our second series of alphabet programs, beginning with the MDTA, (the Manpower Development and Training Act). The real problem is that through this period when we have had 6%, 7% and 8% unemployment, we have basically refused to accept the fact that the major problem is not with the overall system, but with a small part of it. The unemployment rate of (roughly 6%) which we have now is inprecise. If you are white, middle-class, middle-aged, the unemployment rate is about 3.1%. The real problem of unemployment is with young people, with minorities, and with the older people. If you are talking about 17, 18, 19 year old black males, you're talking about an unemployment rate of probably close to 40% -- females a little lower, but not much. For people over 55 the unemployment rate goes far above the 5% or 6% we usually think of.

In addition we have another problem -- the problem of individuals in transition, adults who are interested in moving from one job to another, or one status to another. We're poorly equipped for this at exactly the same time that we're discovering that individuals will probably go through two or three different types of jobs in a lifetime, and for a very simple set of reasons. Two curves have crossed; people are living longer than they formerly did and they are healthier for a longer period of time. Consequently, one other curve is essential -- the degree to which technology calls for changes in job skills, job mixes, retraining. We find that unless training or retraining is available to individuals we have no way of getting people into the labor force at the same time that we have job vacancies. Obviously, this has an impact on productivity.

Motorola was taken over in 1974 by Matusha Electric, a Japanese company. Motorola was bankrupt -- their productivity was very low. Their rejection rate was 20%. Matusha cut the reject rate to 2%. Motorola, when it went bankrupt, had 4% of the market. Matusha raised it to almost 8%. This was done with American workers. They removed the conveyor belts that didn't stop and replaced them with stoppable ones. If a worker finds he needs a little more time on a particular item he can press a button to stop the belt, transfer his piece of work to an adjacent platform, and

restart the belt. After finishing his task at the platform he puts the piece of work back on the belt and rejoins the production line. Steps were taken to make the production line more comfortable. Lights were added; fans were put in to improve ventilation. Employees were made responsible for the neatness of their work area. They were given brooms to clean up at the end of their shift. Their goal, by the way, is a rejection rate of 1/10th of 1%, says Howard Yumato, Executive Vice President. That is the rejection rate for assembly line work in Japan. The Japanese approach is to build quality control into the production line. They have moved into a more open communication with workers. Twice a year management reports on the state of the company to groups of 500 or so employees. After the report, anyone can bring up an issue. The company has also started ten minute meetings twice a day between the foreman and line workers to discuss production, quality control, and other problems. Do you know which product the United States is made exactly this way, where there is no outside quality control program -- no quality control foreman? The finest typewriter in the world is a Selectric made by IBM, and it's been made this way for years. The whole concept was introduced by a vice president of IBM years ago.

People think that labor costs are very low in Japan. They are not and they have been going up steadily. If you remember the principles of Economics I, you know that as the demand for labor goes up, the cost of labor will rise. Plus this, in Japan when you go to work for a major firm you have a guaranteed job. Unless they catch you throwing a bomb in the works, you're there from the time you come in at age 16 or 17 or 18 until you retire, sometime between the ages of 55 and 65. You can see that this custom is expensive because when the demand for the commodity drops off they don't cut back their work force. They carry them. They go into other lines or other products, or they move to a different country and move the workers -- to Taiwan or Korea for instance.

When you talk with Americans about this concept of lifelong employment their immediate reaction -- mostly from industry people -- is we can't do that -- no way. Are any of you familiar with Lincoln Electric? It is the largest manufacturer of welding equipment in the United States, a major firm, and they've had guaranteed employment since the late 1930's. IBM, in many of its divisions, has guaranteed employment, has had it for years. What I am getting at is that these are concepts which are used massively in

other countries and have resulted in higher productivity, lower inflation, lower unemployment. We use them on a selective basis but until we are under more pressure than we have been until now, I doubt that we will move into a development of similar policies here. The situation will have to get a little more painful. Why are we this way? To begin with, we're a much larger country. We're talking about a population of over 200 million. Japan has a population of about 100 million. We have a somewhat different cultural background in terms of our sense of independence, individuality, standing on our own two feet. Thirdly, because of the fact that other countries tend to more homogeneous, they are more quickly empathetic to any part of the population that is negatively affected. We are not. Until recently, the problem of unemployment of minorities was not a problem that was that excruciating to us, that is to the majority population of this country. The majority population basically never understood the problem of the black. You know, the first piece of education for most white Americans vis-a-vis the blacks in the United States was "Roots". It was an eye-opener for lots of white Americans. We are becoming more concerned about inflation and productivity and unemployment. I hope help is on the way with increasing interest in some aspects of government.

Question from the Audience: Do you think private industry will initiate any of these things on their own?

Response: No, I don't think so. We have one other difference in this country that you do not find in Germany or France or Japan. We have had for many years, basically, an adversary relationship between government and private industry. This hinders us in our ability to coordinate and cooperate when we need to. Let me give you an instance. When I was in Japan in November I met with the President of Nippon Steel -- this is the largest steel company in Japan, larger than U. S. Steel. We are talking about productivity problems and he he said "Your relationship between private industry and government is a serious problem which we do not have. For example, about 8 or 9 years ago we were aware of the fact that there were new technologies developing where we felt that we could introduce new types of equipment, cut costs substantially and lower the price per unit of steel. We prepared our case and went to the Ministry of Finance and showed them the evidence indicating that if we could shorten the depreciation period and write off capital equipment more quickly, we could then afford to introduce new capital equipment that would be more productive and become

more competitive in terms of the steel markets of the world. The Ministry of Finance set up their own study team, came to the same conclusion, and immdiately changed the period of depreciation for equipment which permitted us to write off equipment, get the tax benefit, introduce new equipment and become more competitive." When the U. S. Steel Industry tries to do that, government is inclined to say -- "you are a private industry, you should do it yourself and not try to put you hand in the public till." There is an underlying sense of suspicion which prevents government and industry from sitting down and asking themselve "now whats our mutual objective here?" How do we achieve it? Unfortunately, we've built up a long history of conflict, hostility, suspicion, which makes it difficult for government and industry to cooperate, even for the common good.

What is industry going to do about social involvement? What is happening in the last decade? It began, I think, with the riots of the 60's and the recognition that you could push people up to a point and then you had to accept the fact that there might be a cost, and the cost might be very high. You began to get business men looking out of their offices at parts of the city burning and they began to understand that perhaps they had to take the threats seriously and some of them have moved in the direction of social commitment, social involvement. Unions have helped. Many unions now have as part of their collective bargaining an agreement to provide some release time and some funds for continuing education. This is becoming a big item of discussion with management. Some companies have moved faster and more effectively than others. Kimberly-Clark is probably the prime example of a company that has a superb policy for funding education, and not just MBA-type education; blue collar education. They have set up a program where every employee is entitled to take whatever course he wants. They don't have to show passing grades; the study does not have to be related to their job; and they basically have a profit-sharing program where a good deal of the profit is going into the education program -- and is set aside for the children's education as well. It's a changed work environment which lowers the turnover rate, which has a very direct impact on productivity or cutting costs. Kimberly-Clark's program is unique, however. Far too many of the plans call for work related study and certain grades. These plans are not too attractive to employees.

About a year and a half ago we had a meeting at Brookings Institute. There were about 15 Deans; one gentleman who came to talk to us was an

Executive Vice President of Chase Manhattan Bank. One of the Deans asked him (these were all Deans of Business Schools) -- "What is it that you really look for in an MBA at Chase?" The answer was facinating. He said "We're looking for the renaissance man." He was not joking. He continued, "We assume that, when we get an MBA, he is from a pretty good school. He will have a good foundation in finance and accounting and management. But what we look for, and don't find often, is if we were to send that person to open up a new branch in Stuttgart, would he or she be savvy enough in terms of music, art, language, so that they would fit into the society, get to know the right people, would impress individuals with their sensitivity to German art, German culture?" "But," he said, "business schools don't spend any time on that, so we tend not to be turned on by an MBA with a baccalaureate in business. We look for an MBA that may have a background in music or art appreciation!"

I am presently having a terrible time with my faculty. I want to change my undergraduate program radically. I want to design a whole new model for business education, which would combine business with social, humanities and other areas. I think the best way to teach something like collective bargaining and industrial relations is with someone who not only knows the field but in a team teaching situation with an industrial psychologist. I think that business law should be taught in conjunction with someone from the department of philosophy who has a major interest in the history of ethics. I have had a faculty committee working on it since last May. Just last week the committee introduced this new concept and everybody agrees, in principle. I know the reason -- I know all the hidden agendas. A faculty member who is in a class by himself doesn't have to worry about peer evaluation. Now, suddenly, my God, not only is there going to be another faculty memeber but someone from a different department! He has to take his notes more seriously, he has to work with someone else on a presentation. Sensitivities are way up. We're going to go thru more meetings on this but there is no question in my mind that the best way to learn is to learn where you articulate information, where you bring principles together with practices. It's tough to do. Everyone likes Dewey, but they don't like to apply him.

From audience: I wonder if you could say something about national policy directions. It seemed, during the 60's, there was so much going on, there

was a lot of experimentation, but at least there was a sense of commitment to a wide range of human services. The 70's by comparison, seem kind of blah -- the commitment seems to have been lost and the programs are not quite as alive and well. I know pendulums swing -- but I wonder what you see happening.

Response: The newspapers are reflecting what is happening. I have been in Washington since 1951 and my perception from people I know on the Hill (Congress) and my perception from people I know in executive agencies is that this is a very conservative period. At the drop of a hat they talk about Proposition 13 and what it means. People feel that they can't quite see what they are getting for their tax money, they can't understand what the role of government is. Their expectations perhaps were exaggerated -- but I think all of the public policies I see are essentially conservative, not experimental, turning off of the programs that were essentially human resource oriented.

To get back to the pendulum situation. We know that public policy and public opinion swings one way and then the other. That's all right if you don't happen to be in the population that's in the middle. We've got a lot of people who are in the middle in this country, who need the training, who need the benefits. You talk with the unemployed, the underemployed. You talk to the guy who is heading up a firm that is competing with SONY and you find that productivity is a real tough problem to him. How does he deal with it? Help is needed.

From audience: One of the things that I was concerned about in the 60's was the tendency to treat experimentation as something else to throw money at. There were a lot of experiments that were tried based on too little careful planning and too little reflection.

Response: I think you're right. Upjohn, for instance, had a contract to evaluate the Department of Labor's experimental demonstration program and when we wrote the contract I insisted on a proviso that they balked at at first, but they wanted our evaluation (whenever you're in the seller position, that's great). The proviso was that when we finished our report one of the conditions was that two Assistant Secretaries of Labor (one of them was the Assistant Secretary for Manpower and the other was an Assistant Secretary for Administration) had to sit through, each one, a two-hour

briefing. Why do you insist on this was the immediate question. I said, "We're going to come up with a big, fat volume. You're going to have somebody read it. I don't know who that will be some sensitive individual or some dumb-cluck And then you're going to accept what this character tells you because you are not going to have time to read it yourself. No way -- you want us to do the work then you have to listen to our briefing team." Consequently, they learned a lot and changes in procedures were made; i.e., up until that time contracts were written where each line item had a certain amount of money and you couldn't switch more than 10% of a line item to another line item. What was that -- the result of somebody's early toilet training? Why 10% -- why not 12% or 40%. By directly briefing the Assistant Secretary of Adminstration who, in the Department of Labor buys from chairs and pencils to research, that when you buy research you are basically buying the fact that you don't know what's ahead of you. If you're buying research it's because you want to learn something. Now, if you're really buying research you're buying a certain amount of time for going down blind alleys. You may run out of money in one alley -- and need a little more to get back on the highway. You may not have spent as much as you thought on travel, but why can't you move 50% of the travel budget. DOL has changed their procedures.

And what about the volumes and volumes of evaluations that are collecting dust -- never read by the people who are making the decisions. It is a horrible situation. I just spoke at an executive conference for Brookings Institute -- where they give young people from government agencies some good adult education. After listening to Wilbur Cone and myself they were demoralized that so much information existed which was not being utilized.

From audience: I've seen the other side of that, the micro-side. I go out to advocacy centers and they have no awareness of the amount of research that's been done in their area. If they knew about it, they would be consumers of it.

Summary: Increasingly continuing education is becoming more and more related to problems such as productivity, inflation, growth of the economy. Not enough people understand this relationship, unfortunately. We are beginning to understand, slowly, that we do have to begin to relate training, education, counseling, and the concept of continuing education through life as a critical input to our economic activities.

A CONSUMER'S GUIDE TO LABOR MARKET INFORMATION

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Among the most difficult problems facing the person who attempts to help others find and plan careers is sorting through the tremendous volume of information which may influence individual choices about training and employment. These sources range from gaining access to the informal job referral networks through which many positions are filled, to interpretation of the impact of national economic and employment policy as reflected in interest rates, unemployment, and government-funded job creation programs. Both the job seeker and the counselor may be overwhelmed by the challenge to relate national, regional, and local trends to the specific personal values, career goals, and life preferences of individuals. This discussion will offer a framework for attempting to put these diverse sources of information into perspective so that those resources which may be vitally important to an individual job seeker may be used to encourage better informed choices about education, work, and leisure.

A first step toward developing and using this framework is to recognize that there is a very large gap between the level of information available and the level of information of greatest interest to the individual job seeker. The person typically wants as much knowledge about particular jobs as possible: what does a given job pay, require, and "cost" in terms of the individual's concept of a "good" job. The problem is complicated by the fact that the person's definition of a "good" job changes over time in relation to his or her personal interests, skills and preferences. Each of us wants to maximize our "net advantage" with a sequence of jobs which reward us financially, personally, and professionally, even as our standards and needs in each of these areas change over time. We value labor market information most at the <u>micro-level</u> -- that is, information about a particular set of jobs of interest to <u>us</u> -- so that we may assure ourselves about the jobs we may already hold and know when it is going to increase our "net advantage" to look for a new job.

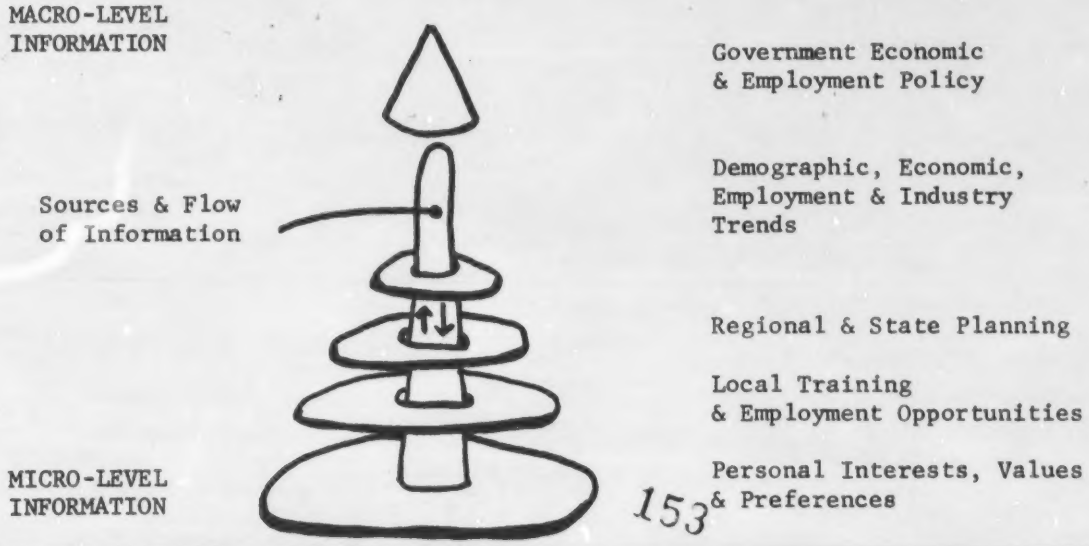
The paradox is that most of the labor market information available to us is collected and presented at the <u>macro-level</u> -- that is, in terms of national, regional and state economic and employment trends rather than at the level of particular groups of jobs in a local community. The challenge is to bridge this gap between the macro-level information which is available and the micro-level information of primary interest to the labor market consumer. This suggests the

value of taking two very different views: first, from the top down to identify the major sources of information, and second, from the perspective of the individual who is trying to focus information to guide decisions about specific education and employment opportunities. The next section offers a framework or model for examining both perspectives; it will be followed by a discussion of ways to help individuals use labor market information to make better informed decisions.

Putting Information into Perspective

The model for this discussion resembles a familiar child's toy as illustrated in Figure 1. It consists of a circular base with a center post, several rings of decreasing size, and a cone which fits on top of the center post. The base represents the individual consumer of labor market information at the micro-level; it is the primary source of balance and stability in sorting through available sources to find that which is relevant to the person's interests, skills and values. Each ring is a level of information, with rings near the base reflecting conditions in local jobs and employment situations. Smaller rings near the top are macro-level sources, which, while contributing to individual decisions, respond primarily to policy and planning questions. The cone represents federal policy which attempts to translate economic and labor market information into national, state and local employment and training programs. The center post represents the flow of information in both directions: from the macro-level down to the person, and from the micro-level up to policymakers in the executive and legislative branches of government.

Figure 1. A Model for Consuming Labor Market Information


MACRO-LEVEL INFORMATION
Government Economic & Employment Policy
Demographic, Economic, Employment & Industry Trends
Sources & Flow of Information
Regional & State Planning
Local Training & Employment Opportunities
MICRO-LEVEL INFORMATION
Personal Interests, Values & Preferences

Federal economic and employment policy provides essential and sometimes contradictory clues to the use of labor market information. The production and use of information with which to monitor the general health and condition of the economy is infused with economic, political and social values. One example of this is clearly illustrated by shifts which occurred in implementation of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) in the mid-1970's. While it was legislated as an employment and training effort to screen in persons with limited work experience, rapidly rising unemployment led to a focus on public service employment in which CETA became a job creation effort frequently calling for skills which caused less experienced workers to be screened out in the competition with more skilled applicants. Similarly, as unemployment rises, private employers also may become less willing to hire the marginally productive, less skilled worker. The focus of federal employment policy, therefore, can alter the local conditions and opportunities for a job counselor and his or her clients even in the presence of what appear to be clear legislative mandates to train and place inexperienced workers into better jobs.

While this issue of "screening in" vs. "screening out" less skilled persons is a reflection of social and employment policy, federal spending policies may alter the nature of opportunities in skilled jobs. Shifts from spending on defense hardware into energy technology or from highway construction to mass transportation can change both the types and location of employment opportunities throughout much of the nation. Both job seekers and counselors need to monitor such trends as they consider the benefits and opportunities which may be available in the future. Such forecasts are especially important for those who anticipate long-term training to prepare for employment opportunities in fields such as energy technology or urban planning.

A third area in which federal policy may influence opportunities emerges from efforts to monitor and control the general health and condition of the economy. Information reflecting the money supply and the cost of living may trigger sharp changes in interest rates; these, in turn, may lead to dramatic short-term changes in earnings and opportunitities in construction and real estate. Efforts to control spending and inflation also may delay or discourage private employers' efforts to expand facilities or create new jobs. It should be clear that while the individual may not recognize the impact of such national policy efforts on his or her opportunities immediately, these decisions do need to be considered in the process of using labor market information.

The next level of the model focuses on a group of federally-supported sources of macro-level data emerging from three primary sources: the Bureau of the Census and the Economic Development Administration, both in the U. S. Department of Commerce, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in the U. S. Department of Labor. In addition to basic demographic data from the Census, the first agency produces periodic censuses of agriculture, manufacturing, construction, state and local government, wholesale and retail trade, and selected service industries which may be used to monitor national employment trends within and across industries. The second source within the Commerce Department, the newest of these three agencies, was created in 1965 to investigate the causes of unemployment, underemployment, and economic development problems. EDA tends to specialize in studies which document economic and demographic shifts from one region of the country to another. The focus of information form these two sources is on large-scale surveys to help guide federal policy-makers; EDA activities also are directed at assisting state and local government adapt to changes in regional conditions such as strategies to enhance business stabilization and expansion.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) is the largest source of labor market information in the nation; data are collected from workers, business executives, and federal and state agencies routinely on a voluntary basis. Monthly estimates are prepared of the U. S. labor force, employment and unemployment, hours of work, earnings, education and selected characteristics of the labor force. These data are reported nationally, by state, and for each of the major urban centers in the nation. National projections also are prepared to forecast the supply of workers and future opportunities in specific occupations.

BLS also compiles the Consumer Price Index and related cost of living indices, reports on wages and collective bargaining agreements across major industries in the nation, reports of worker productivity and the impact of technology for the entire economy and for specific industries, and long-range projections of economic and employment growth. The Occupational Outlook Handbook summarizes these trends every two years, with additional analyses reported in the Occupational Outlook Quarterly, the Monthly Labor Review, Employment and Earnings, and Current Wage Developments.

The next level of information in the model emerges from regional and state efforts to synthesize and supplement information from BLS, EDA and the Census Bureau. Most state chambers of commerce and industry prepare forecasts which

attempt to add to information in periodic surveys for County Business Patterns (Census), monthly labor market estimates (BLS), and state departments of commerce. The primary impact of these sources for the individual and the counselor is to assess how urban and regional planners view the comparative advantages of each state or region and the impact of such information on job expansion and creation efforts in a local area. Much of the information used for these forecasts is derived from statistical manipulation of macro-level data from national data collection efforts described above.

The sharpest break between macro-level and micro-level labor market information occurs in the transition from regional and state planning data to information about local training and employment opportunities. While most of the information at the macro-level refers only to external labor markets, or large-scale trends spanning entire regions, industries, and sectors of the economy, information about local jobs and training is dominated by a need to know what goes on inside specific programs, employers, and departments. This latter source in known as internal labor market information. Thus while macro-level information emphasizes the quantity of opportunities within the larger economy or labor market of a region, micro-level information begins to focus on the qualitative elements of particular occupations and employers.

One implication of this shift from quantitative to qualitative information is reflected in the sources of each. While national, state and urban summary data is produced by BLS on a monthly basis, such detailed summaries of local labor market conditions are much harder to produce. Summaries of labor shortages by occupation may be available from local offices of the Job Service, a part of the U. S. Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration, but they refer only to jobs listed with the service by local employers. County Business Patterns data from periodic surveys of employers within a state reflect only past levels of employment. Such sources of local external labor market information are best used to identify those occupations and industries which may warrant the additional time and effort to gather qualitative information from persons inside those internal labor markets of interest.

Where can one go to assess these local external labor market trends? A locally mandated source is the CETA Prime Sponsor serving the area; each sponsor (usually the county or city government) is directed to identify and focus training opportunities in industries and occupations which can be expected to be hiring in the

future. While not all prime sponsors perform this task equally well, they are likely to reflect rather well how much effort has been invested locally in gathering and synthesizing whatever local external labor market information is available in the area.

Once these trends begin to emerge, it is essential to call upon and improve informal lines of communication with specific employers to understand the rules and customs governing entry and advancement within particular industries, occupations and organizations. What are the levels of training and experience typically available among job applicants at each skill level within the local labor market? Do applicants with particular combinations of training and experience have special advantages? How much competition is there at each level? Are some jobs closed to persons outside the organization? If so, what are the entry level jobs? What do they pay? How long does a new employee typically remain in the entry level position?

It should be clear from these questions that both the counselor and the individual job-seeker need to identify specific types of jobs about which to seek such detailed qualitative information. This process of focusing depends to a large extent on the values and assumptions each recognizes. For example, the counselor who intends to help persons who already have determined that they have no interest in moving from one state or region to another needs to concentrate on developing a network of personal and professional contacts within the local labor market, including a thorough understanding of the entry requirements and barriers for each of the major employers in that community. On the other hand, the person who is willing to move may need help in locating opportunities grouped by occupation or industry rather than by location.

The central issue in responding to these needs, therefore, is not mastery of large volumes of labor market information, but growing expertise in locating sources of current information which are responsive to the special needs and interests of the person. Thus the foundation of the model offered here is micro-level information about the values, interests, talents and goals of the individual job seeker. Only as these are understood and clarified can the match between personal aspirations and existing employment opportunities occur.

Focusing Information on the Person

Freedom of occupational choice may no longer be viewed as the panacea

reflected in much of our past. For many individuals, choice of a job or career has become a tremendous burden, particularly in the absence of any systematic efforts to offer a perspective for helping the person focus labor market information on his or her specific areas of interest before a long-term commitment is made. The concept of choice as a continuous, life-long process of maximizing net advantage between available opportunities and present skills and experience is relatively new to American education. Yet even if such a perception of occupational choice does become the underlying assumption of those who help persons prepare for and enter employment, the American system preserves the right of the individual to prepare for and aspire to an occupation in which very few opportunities for success actually exist.

This paradox between efficiency and individual freedom of choice further amplifies the need for more skilled help for persons who may not already be developing insight and awareness into their own interests, skills, values, ambitions and limitations. Informed personal career planning must begin with self-awareness regarding what the person can do well, likes to do well, and cannot do or dislikes doing -- regardless of how well he or she may be capable of performing. Neither interests nor skills alone are enough to help the person make a satisfying decision.

A second critical issue in focusing information on the person is to begin where the person is now before attempting to address either past or future goals. How much does the person know about the occupationer jobs of interest to him or her? Where can the person find people who are engaged in that occupation? What sorts of insights and information about preparation, training, entry and advancement in careers of interest can be gathered by speaking to those who are presently doing such work? The key to focusing interests is to seek out personal contacts through which assumptions and perceptions may be examined.

Macro-level information thus becomes a supplement to personal contact from the perspective of the individual job-seeker or student. Critical questions should focus on efforts to match personal skills and values with opportunities rather than attempting to force the person to change prematurely. That is not to suggest that a person whose career goals conflict with his or her skills and values may not need to change, but that success and satisfaction depend much more on helping the person understand how to capitalize on existing opportunities than on whose perceptions are most accurate.

The use of macro-level labor market information in individual career planning,

therefore, compels the person and the counselor to search for insights into opportunities by occupation, location, timing and future prospects. Do the costs of acquiring needed skills and experience seem warranted in terms of the personal, professional and financial rewards? What steps are needed to cope with barriers to success? Does the degree of competition require preparation for alternative career paths? How might alternative occupational interests be merged into opportunities which might capitalize on the special talents and enthusiasm of the person? How fast is the content and expertise of the work likely to change, and what special preparations to adapt to such changes may enhance chances of success?

The challenge reflected in questions such as these is to become informed consumers of labor market information in much the same way we use information about housing, food, or the purchase of a car. There is too much information changing too fast to master all of it at any one time, and attempting to do so very likely would leave little time for anything else. What is needed is an understanding of how to help the person who wants information about a particular occupation locate sources such as the Occupational Outlook Handbook, publications of professional and industrial organizations, and personal sources of internal labor market information who are working in the occupations of interest. Such an approach may offer counselors additional insights into their own career decisions and opportunities as their interests and the labor market's opportunities change over time. The key is for both job seekers and counselors to become selective consumers of labor market information — ready to conduct carefully focused, energetic searches whenever their personal goals, values, talents and limitations suggest the need to prepare for or consider a change.

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MANAGING YOUR CAREER

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Rather than simply getting into a discussion of how you manage your own careers, I would like to give you a frame of reference regarding career management. The framework comes partly from authorities in the field, such as Dr. Douglas Hall, Professor of Organizational Behavior in the Graduate School of Management, and partly from some of my own conclusions about professional career management.

What do we mean by the word "career"? Traditionally we think of career in terms of one's dedication to a vocation or a course of work. It provides not only some basis for achievement, or even nonachievement, throughout a life cycle but also gives us an economic incentive to do what we wish. I would like to suggest that the definition of career is much broader than simply the dedication to work. If you look up the word in the Oxford Dictionary you find that career really means swift course, a course of progress through life--as well as a means of livlihood or of advancing oneself. And it involves something much broader than simply one's world of work. The derivation of the word comes from the Roman "carrus" which means a chariot or a cart. It is interesting to note that people engaged in the adventure of careering take some pleasure in the idea that a chariot race is similar in many ways to the rat race of our contemporary career environment.

I think it's quite apparent that we are witnessing a movement from the cloistered study of academics to a much more popular concern about careering, and work orientation, and about life fulfillment through dedication to some type of pursuit. In that emerging public concern I think we are witnessing a number of things. First of all, we are hearing older people say they do not want to be relegated to the scrap heap of society. They want to have something to say about that portion of their lives that society has heretofore labeled "declining years." Second, we are watching the whole process of vocational instability accelerate in our society. None of us can take our positions for granted. We used to think that faculty, for example, could always take tenure for granted; but it is not the case anymore. According to recent court decisions, institutions with financial problems may be able to abrogate

tenure. We are also seeing institutions respond to a society where career patterns are being rapidly created and recreated. People are being asked, to consider the possibility of lifelong learning in order to have a productive career pattern throughout their life cycle. The word is "flexibility."

There is a great deal of interest in the subject of careering. We're trying to find ways in our society not only to provide open access to career patterns but also to give people a chance to discover fulfilling patterns that may not involve opportunities in their current jobs. As you know, we have tended to define fulfillment in career patterns as a function of job satisfaction. I've said that career development includes more than just the work role. People seek fulfillment, and they use whatever roles are available to them to achieve that goal. I would suggest that perhaps some of you may be revolutionaries and that we ought to include work and nonwork opportunities in our concept of careering. We ought to devise at least an acceptable reward system that also gives people the chance to seek their major rewards outside work if they wish. In order to do this, society has to provide the setting.

You have seen unions push to reduce the time workers spend on the job. We have been given predictions that by 1990 we may see a 35 hour workweek. We're seeing work productivity beginning to give way to job satisfaction and to the opportunity to have more fulfilling career patterns outside the regular job. Probably one of the most obvious examples is the career pattern of homemaker and the trend for women to reenter or remain in the work force. Many people -- perhaps some of you -- contribute their time to civic roles, serving on local community boards and on state and national boards. You couldn't make a living from this work, but it gives you a tremendous amount of career fulfillment. We're seeing very clearly that the formal work area can be accomodated to these outside interests. I know a number of people in community government functions who have adjusted their work schedules to allow them time for this activity. If we take the broader view of career, it is quite possible for us to begin to find compensatory mechanisms that would allow us to devote careering energy to more reinforcing kinds of activities than we find in our work. There's obviously nothing more deadly to human development than to be trapped in a job situation where you do not feel productive. Rather than looking at that as failure, you can take a broader view of careering and may be able to find compensatory reinforcement in other areas.

Obviously, one of the most critical periods in career development is the transition from school to work. Education can play a major role in

this particular transition. We have been told in the past eight to ten years that education really doesn't amount to much when it comes to careering. Frankly, I find this hogwash. Education may not mean that much in terms of the amount of money one earns over a lifetime, but it means a great deal in terms of personal satisfaction. First of all, the number of years of education an individual has correlated with that person's range of career choices. Most studies show that initial choice is critical, shaping in many ways the attitudes and feelings you have about work throughout the rest of your life. As a result, the idea of interrupting formal education with periods of employment is certainly worth considering. In other words, before an individual completes his or her education there ought to be some way of that person finding out if that education is really heading the person in the right direction or can be applied in a work setting. We do this in teacher education quite a bit. Here at Northwestern, for example, we try to get first-year students into the public schools before the end of the academic year. As a result, some students decide that teaching is not their field, because they quickly find that the teaching environment in South Chicago is not the same as in New Trier.

Another point that needs to be made is that the degree of challenge in a person's initial job assignment is directly related to one's later performance and salary progress. Individuals who find their first job does not challenge them can change the line of work they want to enter. We also know that career success is a function of personal characteristics. Together with this early job challenge, people who advance more rapidly tend to become more involved in their jobs, retain a higher level of motivation, and show more positive attitudes than do those who advance more slowly.

When we look at the difficulties minority groups face in gaining access to jobs, it is clear that we need equal employment opportunity measures so that minorities can experience success in that first job, and advancement and challenge. For this to happen, many attitudinal barriers in the world of work must be broken down. For example, in the black community as many as 40% of the youth under 21 are unemployed or have no access to jobs.

Let's take a look at Eric Erickson's "Life in Four Stages of Development." These are the stages that really relate to adulthood: Identity, intimacy, generativity, and integrity. Erickson places performance along with these stages. Performance is not so much the energy you put

into your career as it is your perception of how well you're doing--what are the personal rewards, are they low or high? Between the ages of 15 and 25 you have an area that is generally referred to as exploration, in which people are exploring career opportunities. They are testing the world of work in many ways, and education has a great deal to do with this process. After about age 25 we reach the stage where we're consolidating what I would call "me" or identity in its many facets. As we get beyond the stage of identity we move into the stage of intimacy where we develop some kind of interpersonal relationship and begin to explore the kinds of emotional experiences important in these relationships. At that point we move into a career pattern where we're learning and engaging in a period of trial. It's extremely important in career management that people who are really exploring have some way of dealing with their feelings about their work situations -- whether in private counseling or in rap groups.

Once you have made a positive career committment, everything seems fine; the years around 35 are the golden years in many ways, when you feel truly productive. I've talked to some of you about your own feelings in your careers, and probably most of you feel positive about what you're doing -- you are going somewhere . Eventually, in most institutions, you reach a plateau. You have shown that you can be productive, can be generative, can really do the things you want to do; but when you reach this plateau, your main concern may be maintaining that generativity, not increasing it. There are a lot of things that happen at the mid-career point. You can keep growing honestly or you can force yourself to keep growing. I am sure you are familiar with the books on the market about mid-life control of your job and your life -- the so-called "mid-career crisis."

I would say that the creative way to manage one's own career is to maintain it. I'm not going to try and give you a formula for this process, other than to say that you can probably maintain a career after a crisis by shifting your interests from former work areas to other interests you might have. In academia it might mean changing how you apply the things you've studied. Instead of remaining a clinical psychologist for the rest of your life you might decide to explore other options in psychology. You can also maintain your own career pattern by becoming interested in topics that are peripheral to the world of work.

Let me raise a couple of issues. Let's take what has happened as far as retirement age is concerned, allowing people to work until they are 70

or beyond. My hunch is that many people will not want to maintain their careers until they reach 70. They are going to try and push their retirement back to 62 because maintaining their job will have become more of a ritual than a challenge. They are going to use their retirement benefits to develop other careers not necessarily related to the world of work. To me, that step could be very productive. It may well be that those who remain past the age of 65 will have to reconceptualize the kinds of output they can give, particularly if they can't keep up with those who are coming in. There are other issues that obviously need to be dealt with if we continue to work until our older years. These issues include the sense of work obsolescence, decreased job mobility, and stagnation in a particular job. These matters have not been addressed adequately by the institutions involved in the world of work, and I think it's going to be up to us to do so.

Let me turn to you. How many of you feel you're managing your own careers? Your planning process must involve some kind of intellectual talent. It involves coming to terms with the abilities you have. It involves deciding that you can't be everything to everybody. It means looking for bridges. If you want to make a career change, as I did, you need some way to get from where you have been to where you are going. The activities I do on a volunteer basis must be related to my total career goal, in that way I find enrichment and the relationships that open up new avenues of contact. We are talking about trade-offs -- in a psychologist's terms, they're reinforcement trade-offs.

What if the concept of career maintenance becomes a matter of treading water and you begin to flirt with stagnation? I don't call that maintenance. I see maintenance in terms of being able to utilize the wisdom you have accumulated; you are no longer constantly called upon to produce something new to demonstrate your competence. Of course, one may arrive at a particular stage of maintenance and be forced into a stagnation pattern -- for example, by being promoted into a dead-end job. I think one of the big problems any mature organization faces is the fact that their growth rate slows down and many of their employees begin to move into an older age group. The question then becomes how do you regenerate people that have been with you for 20 or 30 years?

In academia, it's extremely interesting to note that generally higher education is in a retrenchment stage in one way or another. We are faced with a number of problems that suggest we are not going to have new input

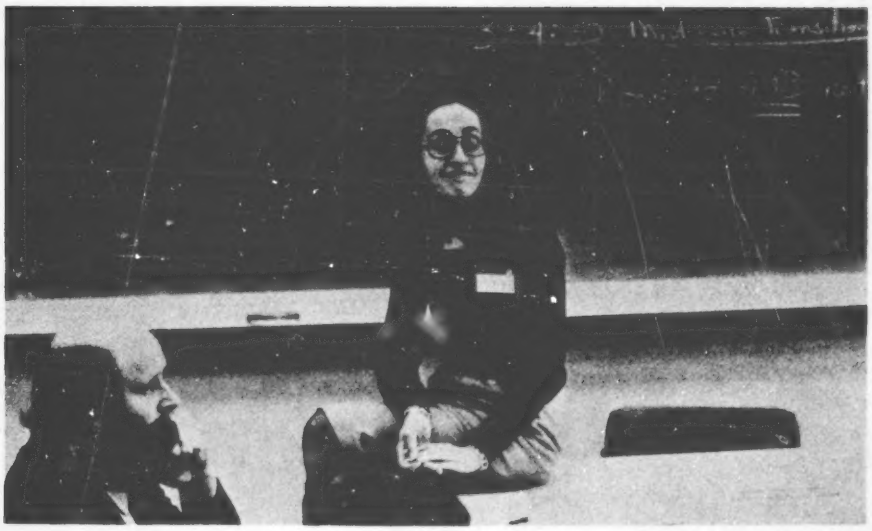
to the extent we have had in the past. By tradition, higher education has always taken its older faculty members for granted. The assumption is that by the time you are tenured you are developed, and the institution's main task is to leave you alone. Unless we start thinking very seriously about this productivity problem for older faculty members, higher education is going to be in an awful lot of trouble -- namely, students won't want to take courses from older faculty members because older faculty aren't enthusiastic and exciting anymore. To me, the great mid-career crisis of faculty in higher education is not the crisis of obsolesence. It is the crisis of having attained a particular status, the feeling of what are you going to do tomorrow that's different? The expectation that excellence keeps increasing automatically is to me totally unrealistic. I know one faculty member who tells me he's bored to death with having to publish articles in the field in which he established his reputation. When I ask why he doesn't do something different he says, "If I start out on something new, they'll think I've really sold them down the river. I'm supposed to be a model for them."

And what about the function that professional associations perform? When we are among our own collegues we can easily mask stagnation because everybody is experiencing it. We rationalize it, we project it "out there"; but it is the old consensus idea. If you have enough people together who are stagnated, obviously they aren't going to call it stagnation.

We seem to be victims of our own success. People live longer, healthier lives and are capable of making constructive contributions for a longer time. It seems to me that one of the great challenges we have in career management is how do we get vitality into careering and provide a system that will allow that vitality to maintain itself over a longer period of time? Our greatest support in this area may be provided by a strict observance and enforcement of the law prohibiting age discrimination in job selection.

What has not yet been grasped, and maybe it's a contribution someone here will make, is that the maintenance stage is a cyclical process. You can reach the maintenance stage in some occupations or career paths by the age of 20 or 25 and move into a new stage of the cycle. I think one of the things we need to do is learn how to juggle -- meaining that we pick up more balls to manipulate in planning for the future.

ADJUSTMENTS TO CHANGING ROLES



Professor June Sochen, History, Northeastern Illinois University, is the author of Movers and Shakers and Herstory.

The paper included here entitled "The New, New Woman" substitutes for the transcript of her conference workshop.

"THE 'NEW, NEW' WOMAN"

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There are at least three major social types of American women: the "old" woman, the "new" woman, and the "new, new" woman. The "old" woman defines herself in terms of her husband and her children. In her youth she dreamt about the wonderful man she would marry and the wonderful home she would have. Fashion designer Edith Head gave advice to the "old" woman in her How to Dress For Success:

> The you we're talking about is not alone. She is manufactured by the dozens, the hundreds, the thousands, in all sizes and shapes of women, all after success....And in this competitive race, it is frequently the best 'packaging' that makes the difference between those who are left on the shelf and those who are sought after and snapped up fast in the well-stocked supermarket of modern life.[1]

Edith Head's language accurately depicts the market perspective of the marriageable woman. She is in a competitive race, must be properly packaged, and quickly picked up; otherwise, she will be the dreaded outdated product, last year's model in a new, increasingly desperate market. Marabel Morgan's Total Woman is the 1970s equivalent of Edith Head's advice book. Making the proper martini, asking the hubby the right question, and dressing appropriately for the cocktail hour are Morgan's practical tips for a woman aiming to preserve her successful marriage, or to give new excitement to a boring marriage.

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[1] Edith Head, How to Dress for Success (New York, Random House, 1967) p. 3

The "new" woman is the career-oriented woman who is willing to reject the "old" woman's values and life goals in order to achieve success in the man's world. The "new" woman takes and leaves men in the way that men have traditionally used and misused women. The "new" woman claims liberation to be based upon her absolute autonomy, her independence of all people. She is emotionally and intellectually free of all ties, an adventurer in the man's marketplace, a competitive racerunner who cherishes the race and the victory. The "new" woman has essentially accepted the male success model. She becomes as driven in her business pursuits or her professional career as any man; she devotes herself to her own advancement with equal ruthlessness. The "new" woman is a public woman, a woman whose life is lived outside the domestic sphere but according to the traditional male rules of the marketplace game.

The "new, new" woman is a self respecting female who has preserved a rich interaction with others while fulfilling her own personal needs and goals. She no longer lives exclusively for others but she interprets her life as one that is inextricably tied to others. She may be married, have a family, and a career she may be a working class woman who has and interest in her family, her community, her church, and her friends. The "new, new" woman, whose network of life involved people, in a reciprocal relationship of concern, may well become the psychically whole leaders of the next generation.

The essential ingredient which the "new, new" woman possesses is self-respect; not narcissism and not arrogance, but true respect for her own worth and her own potential. Joan Didion, in an essay entitled "On Self-Respect" has described the trait thusly:

> The dismal fact is that self respect has nothing to do with the approval of others -- who are, after all, deceived easily enough -- has nothing to do with reputation, which, as Rhett Butler told Scarlett O'Hara is something people with courage can do without.[1]

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[1] Joan Didion, Slouching Toward Bethlehem, "On Self Respect," p. 143.

Self-respecting women do not gauge their lives by the dictates of others. Surely authority figures such as parents, clergymen, and teachers participate in shaping the female personality but in contrast to the "old woman" who carved her life according to the social values of "other", the "new, new" woman sifts and chooses the various options to all humans and creates a self with which she is comfortable. She can do this precisely because she is respectful of her own wishes, of her own judgments, and of her own goals.

> ...people with self-respect exhibit a certain toughness, a kind of moral nerve; they display what was once called character, a quality which, although approved in the abstract, sometimes loses ground to other, more instantly negotiable virtues.[2]

Didion's description is particularly difficult for women to achieve. Our culture does not encourage women to have nerve, to be tough, to have an independent character. Yet this is the essential trait needed to achieve "new, new" womanhood status. Against enormous odds, some "new, new" women already exist, indeed have always existed.

But how do you create large numbers of self-respecting women? How do you develop little girls into grown women who cherish their uniqueness, their opinions, their personalities, and their right to be? How do you convince mothers and fathers that there is more than one adult scenario for all women? How, indeed, do you cultivate oneness at the same time that you teach social responsibility? These are mighty questions, questions that are at the heart of the issue, for it is self-respecting girl children that will become self-respecting adult women.

The intense questioning of cultural values resulting from the women's movement has already gotten some young women to reject their social definition. The growing numbers of young women who remain single, who marry and remain childless, and who declare their preference for homosexuality all

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[2]Ibid., p. 145

represent breakaways from the old rules. They speak, in the loudest terms possible; by their behavior, for a rejection of the "old" woman values. Some of these women become "new" women, driving careerists who sacrifice their personal life for their profession. Some develop a healthy balance between private wishes and public responsibilities. Some women have moved from dependence to independence to healthy independence, and in so doing have achieved the "new, new" woman position.

Official discrimination against women has become public knowledge and conscious efforts to redress grievances are already underway. But the most important changes resulting from the woman's movement are the shift in attitudes and behavior on the part of people. In addition to the rule-changers described above, bold parents are testing the new feminism, living in an egalitarian marriage, and raising non-stereotyped children. Adolescent girls are questioning their traditional parents expectations for them and grown women are going through analysis, breaking down and breaking through their traditional roles, while seeking new forms of selfhood.

The critics of women's liberation, like the critics of the suffrage movement, perceive the truly revolutionary nature of the movement. They recognize that feminism leads directly to the reorganization of the human family and to the questioning of established social patters. They realize that self-respecting women may not choose the socially approved script for all women. Marabel Morgan's best-seller The Total Woman and Phyllis Schlafly's anti-ERA campaign have mounted a frontal attack upon women's liberation. They are aggressively defending the status quo, aware of the multiple dangers of the enemy. The best defense is an offense and Morgan and Schlafly are surely utilizing this tactic. They speak for some middle and upper class white women who enjoy the privileged position of homemaker; they decry the liberationist's wish for all women to discover and develop their talents, skills, and ambitions. To Morgan and Schlafly, the home, husband, and family constitute the woman's full-time attention. While women's liberation, in its best form, represents the "new, new" woman.

This point deserves elaboration. The "old" woman ideal was a self sacrificing, self effacing woman who devoted her energies to others. She worked for her husband's and family's happiness, always deferring her desires. If they were all happy, she would be happy; so ran the rationale.

A mother's primary goal is one of self sacrifice and thousands of fictional melodramas and soap operas gained adherents because of this fundamental premise. The "new" woman, in contrast, rejected others in her wholehearted search for self. She forgot, or willingly gave up her connections with family and friends in order to pursue her professional goals, in order to obtain success in the public arena. The "new, new" woman, beginning with a self-respecting self, combines the best of "old" and "new" womanhood. She balances the authentic relationships treasured by the "old" woman with her personal need for self fulfillment in areas other than the family. She combines the personal, the traditional, and the public.

Fundamentally, the crux of the controversy centers around the question: for whom should women live? For themselves for for others? Western culture emphasizes the others in a woman's life as taking priority over her own wishes and dreams; feminism proclaims the importance of her wishes. Though the American dream has always included individual will, in reality the dream has only had a male expression. In an age when the basic values of America are being questioned, women's liberation harmonizes with the goals of the discontented, the underprivileged, the young, and the powerless. While white males have had both a social and an individual definition, women, blacks, children, and American Indians have only had a social definition. Society decided who they were, what they could have, and how they would live their lives.

Morgan, Schlafly, and other critics of women's liberation, believe that the social definition of woman is the proper, holy, and desired one. They both are puzzled and outraged by the efforts to change that definition. While rugged individualism and a variety of adult roles are appropriate to the male of the species, all women share a destiny, the same destiny. Marriage, the pleasures of a home, husband, and children, remain the central focus of all women's lives. For Morgan and Schlafly, the status quo represents the best of all possible worlds for women and only the maladjusted and perverted seek change. The critics of women's liberation never ask why marriage is not the central focus of a man's life.

The gap between dream and reality is great for men but non-existent for women; while most men never achieve the material rewards of this culture,

and do not feel that they had innumerable adult life choices, women are not included in the rhetoric, the dream, or the reality. It is only by struggling against all odds that women free themselves of cultural definitions and embark upon unchartered courses. For women who do not accept society's definition of them, the way is unpredictable, difficult, and traumatic. They must carve their own identities, their own defenses, their own strengths.

Every generation has had its heroic women challengers, its "new, new" women. But in this generation, there is the important support of the women's movement and the even more significant phenomenon of the new sociological reality for urban, industrial middle class American women. Contrary to Morgan and Schlafly, there are fewer constructive tasks associated with homemaker than ever before in human history. A frontier woman raised children and chickens, grew vegetables, put up preserves, cooked over an open fire, sewed the clothes for the whole family, taught the children how to read, and cleaned the cabin daily. She had no refrigerator, sewing machine, running water, toilet facility, ready made clothes, or canned food. The role homemaker was a functional, sixteen hour a day job. Today, that is no longer the case, though manufacturers of home appliances, gadgets, and other paraphenalia try to occupy the women for endless hours. A frontier woman baked her own bread out of necessity; a 1977 housewife bakes bread to give her "fulfillment," a sorry indication that the useful function of her role no longer exists.

Days without events, children who no longer need you, and a busy husband contribute to the creation of questioning women. The women's movement provides emotional support as well as concrete suggestions so that women can direct their energies into constructive outlets. The whole society demonstrates its adaptive qualities in responding to this new population; universities, losing enrollment from the diminishing numbers of eighteen year olds, promote continuing education programs and establish university extensions in the suburbs; private childcare facilities increase; and professional schools encourage female applicants.

The scenario for the women's future is exciting and dangerous. The thrill of unpredictability, of testing new dreams, and of seeking self definitions will be mixed with the dangers of unforeseen obstacles, failures, and conflicted wishes. Most women will attempt a synthesis for their adult life, a good American eclectic mixture of home, family,

and outside interests and in so doing, become "new, new" women. A significant minority will become fulltime careerists, "new" women, who may or may not marry and may not have a child. The nuclear family, I think, will remain the primary social institution in which children will be raised and men and women will live together. The single family home will continue its wasteful use of human labor and deny women the opportunity to use their energies in other ways.

People will continue having children, though in fewer numbers. Barring other catastrophes, Americans will continue to bungle along. With the continued advance of automation, fewer and fewer adults will work and those who work will do so for fewer hours a day. The result will be another revolutionary confrontation: both sexes will have a new identity crises. Who am I as a person will be asked by men and women alike. Women, perhaps, will be ahead of the men in the painful process of seeking an answer as the women's liberation movement has already forced them to ask and answer that question. If work, career, and social achievement are available for fewer members of both sexes, then other human areas of endeavor will have to be sought to confer worth on people. Women volunteers, women gardeners, and organization women, may have an advantage over their husbands in carving out important daily activities that give them personal satisfaction.

Indeed, the woman of the twenty-first century who may emerge as the human leaders of the community may be those women who have delicately, but successfully, created a satisfying lifestyle that is varied and that contains multiple sources of gratification. The single minded career woman will be no better off in the nowork world of the next century than the single minded career man. The "new, new" woman will be one who derives satisfaction from family, friends, esthetic activities, and humanistic ventures. The "new, new" woman will emerge from all classes; she will possess self respect at the same time that she has preserved a rich interaction with others. She will no longer live for others exclusively but she will interpret her life as one that is inextricably tied to others. She will be a separate entity simultaneous with her empathic involvement with others. She will approach a human relationship with an established personality, not in search of an identity. While the "old" woman defined herself in terms of her husband and children and the "new" woman rejected

others in her search for self, the "new, new" woman can become one with others because she is one. The merging of the I and the We, the ego and social, will blend harmoniously in the "new, new" woman. It will not be a mystical transformation, but rather one that merges the old and new social reality. The women who emerge from the chaotic changes already in evidence in this culture will have created a new type, a new synthesis of the old, new, and newer still. These women will have moved beyond the female stereotype, the male stereotype, and all stereotypes.

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WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET

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An investigation of the "old girls' network" (or the "old boys' network," for that matter) is a difficult assignment, because it isn't in the guide to periodical literature of several different fields, particularly the popular media. A fair amount of work is directly related to the subject, while a lot is tangential.

First of all, the network is not new. A support system for women has existed for a long time, but has dealt with nonmarket rather than market activities. An informal communication network has been very supportive to women in regard to child-rearing, domestic and volunteer activities, and the like. What is new is that we are dealing with market activities -- paid work rather than unpaid work at home.

Second, a lot of the participants in this network -- in the old girls' network, if we want to call it that -- are the same participants who have been in these informal networks. The chances are very good, however, that they aren't playing the same role. For example, as of June 1977, 50% of all women 16 and over were in the labor force.

In terms of the role of intermediaries in the labor market, what is the old girls' network? I define it as the female counterpart of the old boys' network, which is the term given by female executives to the support system that has and continues to facilitate the flow of job market information, access to jobs, and movement up the career ladder for men. When you search the literature, you don't find much under the title "old boys' network," but you may find material under other names. Many sociologists call it a "support system" -- an institutionalized support system -- based on formal and informal relationships. One sociologist, Cynthia Fukes Epstein, labelled it "the male establishment." Williams Lloyd Warner, in a study on businessmen and their paths to top positions in American business, named it "influential connections." Perhaps the best

definition appeared in Business Week in a November, 1975, article called "Up the Career Ladder." It said, "In corporate centers the network may disseminate news of a job opening, provide insider friends to push a candidate for the job and, if he sucessds, warn him of the dangers of tangling with his new executive VP. Later, it may direct him to a supplier and banker, thus simultaneously benefitting three old boys." This is what we want the old girls' network to do.

Based on the evidence we see around us, we know that this old boys' network (and ideally the comparable old girls' network in the future) does perform a number of important roles in the labor market. Number one is access to jobs. Periodically the Bureau of Labor Statistics makes a study of the job-seeking methods that employed and unemployed workers use. Despite the many formal mechanisms that exist for matching workers and jobs, the Bureau continues to find that year after year the informal network (that is, information that we obtain about jobs from friends, business acquaintances, or relatives) is probably the second most frequently used means for finding a job and the second most effective.

So far as I've been able to determine, there haven't been many studies that deal with the job-search process, other than the ones that the Bureau of Labor Statistics regularly conducts. There was a study done around 1972 in Los Angeles in which an economist looked at the job-search methods used by some 250 unemployed professional engineers and managers. Among that group the information about jobs and referrals obtained from business acquaintances, friends, relatives, membership in professional associations, and the like was the second most effectively and frequently used method of finding a job. More important too is the relationship between salary level and job-search methods used. Those who turned to business acquaintances as the primary means for getting a job had the highest average salaries in their new positions -- some 15% higher than for those persons who used other job-search methods.

The Bureau noted in its studies that, for recent college graduates and for those about to leave school, college and high school placement services frequently match workers with jobs. In addition, for both women and men, ties to their alma mater provided another way of gaining access to jobs. I suspect that there have been comparable kinds of networks

operating in fields traditionally female; library science, nursing, and education. I presume that some of these networks are comprised of females that let graduates and soon-to-be graduates know about jobs in their particular institutions.

In addition to providing information about jobs -- a foot in the door of an organization -- the old boys' network performs a number of other functions, at least two of which I'd like to touch on. The first I call "survival support." Many people who enter jobs run across problems that they are not prepared for; they get together with peers in order to talk about problems and have a sympathetic audience. Women don't have the opportunity to participate in the survival support that males are getting. An organization I know of has made a real effort to hire women for professional jobs, but found that their separation rate is two to three times higher than it is for males. I started to ask some questions: "Do you have women in the informal communications network? Do they know what's going on?" I was told these women were in the formal network, perhaps not the informal. I asked, "What about role models?" There's one woman who's an assistant manager among a couple of hundred people, but that's it. I can't help feeling that women aren't getting what I call survival support, which the old boys' network has long provided the men who enter these same types of jobs.

The third function that the network performs is the sponsorship or mentoring of individuals in organizations. Our organizations in this country are becoming larger, and a greater percentage of our population will be working for them. This fact means that more and more decisions about the allocation of resources, development of human resources, training, wages, and the like are going to be determined within the organization rather than in the external, competitive market. As we look at the mechanisms for matching workers and jobs, we can't overlook what I like to call the "internal labor market" where so many of these decisions are made. The business of sponsorship, or being a protege of someone within the organization, is a very important function the old boys' network performs.

Before we go further in our discussion of the old girls' network, I think it is important to talk about myths: myths about building an old girls' network and myths relevant to working women generally. When I first

came to Northwestern I was doing an article on "Pay as a Motivator." An article summarizing some research done in the early '60s reported that pay, upward mobility, and economic security were quite important, but that these factors had not ranked high for women. In fact, for women the most important factors were pleasant working conditions and congenial associates. I don't want to say these conditions are unimportant, but I do think this kind of research and perhaps research has in the past helped create the myth that women are not motivated by the same things as men. I would like to suggest that if ever this assertion were true, it is not the case today -- at least not for the majority of women in this country. As of March 1975, 60% of all the working women in the United States were either divorced, single, or wives of men with annual incomes under $7,000. At that time the Bureau of Labor Statistics' standard yearly budget for a family of four listed expenditures of about $9,000 or $10,000. I think it's clear that women, for the most part, are working for the same reasons men are.

Second, there is a myth that women have a far weaker attachment to the labor force than do men. Nearly 49% to 50% of all women 16 years of age or over were in the labor force in June 1977. This compares to a third of all women 15 or over in 1950 and 43% in 1970. In just two years -- 1975 to 1977 -- female participation in the labor force jumped from 46.5% to 48.8%. Today, 49% of all women are working. The Bureau had projected that in 1980 the percent of all women 16 and over who would be working would be 48.5%; the figure for 1977 has already reached 48.4%.

Most important, however, is that for the age group 25 to 34 -- previously the years women tended to drop out of the labor force -- the participation rate has exceeded our 1980 projection. It has reached the level of the so-called "older women" workers, the 35 to 54 age group who returned to work after their children were in school or after their children were raised. Women are not dropping out during those critical apprenticeship years -- the years in which men get their experience and start moving up the ladder. I think if we go back just to 1970, about 45% of the women in that 25 to 34 age category were participating in the labor force. Seven years it is close to 58% to 59%.

That increase represents the largest change in terms of female participation in the labor market in a decade. I'm certain after ten years more have gone by we'll look back and say our current decade is the one in which younger women decided not to interrupt their careers as they have in the past; instead most of them stayed in the labor force.

Women's attachment to the labor force is stronger than it used to be at three points. The first two we discussed previously -- women are reentering the work force and are not dropping out during apprenticeship years. Third, a large part of us change between 1950 and 1975 reflects the fact that women are working longer each year. Instead of an average of 30 weeks annually, they're working an average of 35, which increases the female participation figures.

The third myth is that all women put their private lives ahead of their work goals. In the past women haven't had the opportunity to get the better-paying jobs or move upward in organizations. It would have made little sense for families to base their decisions about geographic location, in particular, on the female's career opportunities. I think there's some evidence that this is changing, reflected in the growing body of literature on dual careers. There's been a change in women's perceptions of their opportunities in the labor force and the working world. For that reason, more women have the potential to earn salaries and be upwardly mobile on the same level, or in some cases a slightly higher level, than their husbands.

The fourth myth is a statement that Michael Korda made in his book Power. In essence he says that women find it hard to break into the world of power not because men are obstacles in their way, but because women think of power as being essentially male. This is a myth. Women all over the United States in women's groups have been working politically to try to change some of the legal barriers that we face. When I was in Washington, I found that 40 of President Carter's 300 new top-level political appointee are female. Apparently, if you look, it isn't very difficult to find females who have political skills and are interested in power.

The final myth, is that women don't support one another. Or as one researcher has said, based on some research he did in 1968, women are

prejudiced against one another. Put in its simplest form, and I think it's all the same myth, women don't want to work for other women. I think a couple of points invalidate this myth certainly in the case of women's ability to organize. If you look at labor unions during the last ten years or so, you'll find that women are the ones who have increased their union participation. As a matter of fact, the labor unions haven't been decreasing in membership for the last two to four years partly because women are finally joining labor unions in greater numbers, and partly because of their membership in employee associations or labor unions in the health care industry, in traditional female jobs, and the like. Certainly the evidence indicates that women are maintaining the level of employed membership in labor unions.

As for the myth that women do not want to work for other women, but I never hear this preference repeated in the literature. I think in so many instances the source for this myth comes from people who have never worked for a woman, which is not hard to understand. We know that in the past women have not been offered many supervisory jobs; in fact women have rarely made it beyond the first level of supervision. But perhaps we shouldn't dismiss this myth completely. We hear that women have to work twice as hard as men in order to get to the same place. If you are working for a woman who is in this position you might be required to work twice as hard as well. In such cases you may prefer a male boss.

These represent some of the myths we need to review when we think about the importance of an old girls' network and about women and our place in the work force. It's clear we work for the same reasons as men, and we are concerned about having equal opportunity. We may not want to do things exactly as men have done them, but our objectives are the same -- to do a good job, to have challenging work, and to take advantage of opportunities. Not all of us will reach the top, but we want to have the possibility open to us.

What does all this mean as far as building an old girls' network? Some of these networks are already being developed; and as increasing numbers of women enter male-dominated occupations, I think we are going to see more of them. The New York magazine recently reported that 200 registered women lobbyists in Washington have formed an organization, principally to serve as a forum for the exchange of information. Until recently, that

kind of opportunity has been pretty rare in the male-dominated occupations.

In Washington, more than anywhere else, a number of old girl networks exist. Women have been working in that area since the '30s and '40s, with a large number coming into the city in the '50s. I ascribe this trend not to equal employment opportunities but to the fact that federal government salaries were low relative to the private sector. As the government increased,more women than men were drawn to that labor market. In many instances women have reached levels in the federal organization that give them much more control over resources than we might find in other fields. I recently discovered that for about the last 15 years a certain foundation has given six or seven awards annually to female executives in the federal government. The award recipients get together informally -- every three or four months -- to exchange information and to alert one another to particular skills they or other women have. In this way, they can ensure that capable women are given opportunities, particularly regarding the contracts awarded in the Washington D.C. area.

For those of us in Chicago -- who are not in these Washington networks, although the networks do need to intersect -- we have a number of organizations available to us. We have conferences such as today, where I have run across many people I haven't seen for some time. I believe we should do more about getting together informally because a great deal of important information is exchanged at such meetings.

We have many resources that can help us build the old girls' network: conferences, organizations, magazines such as Working Woman, Ms. and recently, a congressional clearinghouse on information regarding women. This growing information network can provide data not necessarily about specific job openings but general information to help us plan our careers. Our links to our schools are valuable as well. Put most important, we need to make certain we have information networks among women in our own organizations. Not all organizations have a formal network for women established by management. About ten years ago, the civil service commission of the federal government set up the Federal Women's Program. The commission is the personnel arm of the federal government. The Federal Women's Program, to be established in each one of the federal agencies, would give the opportunity to communicate about matters that concern them,

particularly employment. I happen to be a Federal Women's Program coordinator in the Midwest region for the Department of Labor. Our committee, comprised of eight female employees of the agencies in the department, gets together about once a month. Before I was involved, the organization had a number of different programs, but few people attended them. I felt we shouldn't offer programs nobody wanted; we simply mark ourselves as a failing organization. I suggested instead of programs, we should put our energy into developing an informal communication network among agencies. Not many women in the Department of Labor here are in major decision-making positions. Therefore, the literature will indicate that women are "assistants-to" top-level individuals and the keepers of a great deal of information. As a result, these women can perform many useful services in such a network -- frequently they have information about available jobs or can get information back to decision-makers. Thus, within any organization, the old girls' network ideally includes these "assistants-to," people who can give us this variety of essential information.

I think this point highlights one of the most important differences between the emerging old girls' network and the established old boys' network. First, the women who are in the network and who build it are not -- with a few exceptions -- people who have control over jobs and the decision-making process. In the old boys' network the decision makers are there. As a result, we need to find women in organizations who are keepers of information and build from that level.

Second, as we think about building the old girls' network, we have to recognize that the process must be done consciously. The old boys' network is based on all-male norms, because it was created in a male-dominated environment. We need to make time to get together, to make certain that we communicate important information. Even casual social interaction can be useful. For example, I attend a noon exercise class at the "Y," and I find that the women rush in exactly at noon and rush out forty-five minutes later. Very little social interaction occurs there. I have not gone to men's exercise classes or to their other activities; but I can't help feeling that they do take the time to say hello, to exchange a few words and get to know one another, to find out who they are and how they can help each other. I don't see this happening at the Y. Instead, I hear women saying, "I've got to be back. I am going to have to make up the time spent at the Y." If we are that constrained for time away from work

then it will be difficult for us to build this network.

The third drawback in building the network is that we don't have the role models that are available to men. The limited number of women who have made it up the ladder didn't get there because of the old girls' network, or because other females helped them. Typically, they got there via the old boys' network, plus their exceptional skills and willingness to work 200%. I think it's important that we invite women who have made it to be part of the network. They need to help nurture the network and make it grow. I don't think the Queen Bee syndrome is true of all these individuals; they may not be aware of the many kinds of services they can perform by tying into the network and getting together with other women.

Finally, and most important in terms of our upward mobility, we can't have an old girls' network that doesn't plug in at many, many points to the old boys' network. Men still dominate the decision-making positions, and the system still operates along male norms; after all, they have been the dominant group in most kinds of occupations. We need to build our own network, but we certainly can't ignore the important old boys' network.